

M E M O I R S

O F .

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER OF

HENRY THE GREAT.

Newly translated from the French edition of
M. de L'ECLUSE.

Illustrated with an accurate MAP of FRANCE.

To which is annexed,

The TRIAL of FRANCIS RAVAILLAC, for
the murder of HENRY the GREAT.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for A. DONALDSON, at Pope's Head.

M D C C L X.

ADVERTISEMENT

By the SCOTCH EDITOR.

THE great Demand for SULLY's MEMOIRS, and the high price of the London edition, induced the editor to undertake a new translation of that excellent book; which is now offered to the public at the low rate of fifteen shillings.

The Monthly Review speaks of these Memoirs as follows.

“ The original of this celebrated work
“ is so well known, and so universally
“ esteemed, that it would be ridiculous
“ in us, to think either of adding to, or
“ detracting from the public suffrage,
“ long since given in its favour.”

The editor therefore hopes, that a new translation of a book, fraught with the wisest maxims of state, the finest instructions and examples of morality, and a variety of the most important events
and

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and interesting anecdotes, will not be unacceptable to his countrymen.

As to the translation, its merit is humbly submitted to the judgment of the public; and though it is not pretended to be free from faults, yet 'tis hoped it will be found to be no way inferior to that done at London; at least, care has been taken to rectify several mistakes, and supply some omissions to be found in that edition.

As many towns and villages in almost every province of France are mentioned in this work, and as several of these were the scenes of great transactions; it was thought that a map of that kingdom might be of use, for illustrating the geography, and shewing the distances of places. An accurate map is accordingly prefixed.

M. DE L'ECLUSE'S PREFACE.

THE Memoirs of Sully have always been ranked among the best books we have. This truth being established long ago, by the judgment of all our good critics, and of all the lovers of literature, I may save myself the trouble of a discussion, useless to those who know the book.

With regard to those who have never read these Memoirs, it is sufficient to give them an idea of the work, to say, that they comprehend the history of what passed from the peace in 1570, to the first year of Lewis XIII. that is to say, the space of more than forty years; a period that has furnished the most copious matter to the historians of our monarchy; and that they treat of the reign, or, to speak more properly, of almost the whole life of Henry the Great. These Memoirs presuppose, indeed, some knowledge of the preceding troubles, which are only occasionally mentioned; but they display all the succeeding events in the most minute detail. Events equally numerous and diversified; wars, foreign and civil; interests of state and religion; masterpieces of state-administration; unexpected discoveries; efforts of ambition; stratagems of policy; embassies and negotiations; are all to be found here, and are but a part of what the book contains.

The Memoirs of Sully derive another, perhaps a still greater value, from an infinitude of

more particular recitals, which are not the province of history, but an advantage peculiar to memoirs. They admit a multiplicity of subjects, and all the variety of incidents which one pleases to introduce; and, moreover, they are not subjected to the yoke that necessity has imposed upon history, to omit nothing of those over-general things, in writing of which a man feels himself perfectly disgusted.

Would one give a thorough knowledge of the prince he is about to speak of? The picture of his private life must incessantly be compared with that of his public life. He must exhibit him in the midst of his courtiers, with his domestics, in the moments when he observes himself least; and establish his character by his letters and his conversation. The passions delineate themselves better by a simple word, related as it was originally spoken, than by all the art which an historian can employ. This idea of memoirs is so perfectly answered by those of Sully, with regard to the prince who is the principal subject of them, that it is not till after having read them, that one truly knows Henry IV. What they exhibit to us of this great prince, in his good as well as his bad fortune, viewed as a private man or a king, as a warrior or as a politician; in fine, as a husband, father, friend, &c. is marked with traits so sensible, that one cannot keep himself from being interested in the particularities of his life, even the most indifferent. At the most, I can only except some military details, perhaps a little

tle too frequent in the beginning of the work, and a small number of others less pleasing; though otherwise these recitals are always connected with the public affairs, and diversified, like all the rest, with the part which was borne in them by the Duke of Sully.

He is, so to speak, the second actor; and this double action makes no breach in the unity of interest, if I may here be permitted this expression, because that this minister says almost nothing of himself, which has not some relation to the state, or to the person of his master. The reader will, doubtless, be pleased to know what judgment was formed of these Memoirs when they first began to see the light; and I shall give him information from the author of an old discourse, to be found among the MSS. [vol. 2590.] of the King's library. "One of the most beautiful images of human prudence and fidelity," says he, "is to be found in the account left to the public, by the Duke of Sully, in these two volumes, of the nature of the counsels he had given, and of the number of the services he had done, to his king and benefactor, as well for the particular glory of his person, as for the prosperity of his kingdom. And, in truth, the fortune of Henry the Great, and the virtue of his prime minister, are two things which appear alternately, or, more properly, go hand in hand. The minister, in this work, serves and obliges the King, in all the ways that a great prince can receive service or obligation

“ from a subject, with his hand, his courage,
 “ his sword, and even with his blood, and
 “ his wounds, by his valour or discretion, as oc-
 “ casion required. But he particularly served
 “ him in his council and cabinet, with the
 “ greatest good-sense and most quick-sighted
 “ penetration, the most uncommon disinterest-
 “ edness and the most singular sincerity, that
 “ has ever been known in the histories, either
 “ of our own or of other countries.”

It is natural, in the reign of a prince like
 Henry IV. to look for great generals, pro-
 found politicians, and able ministers; but what
 must surprise us is, to find in the same person,
 the warrior, the politician, the wise manager of
 business, the sure and severe friend, as well as
 the intimate confidant and favourite of his ma-
 ster. And what must appear still more uncom-
 mon, is to see, in a work where the actions of
 two such extraordinary persons are collected af-
 ter their deaths, a great king reduced to conquer
 his own kingdom, occupied with a minister,
 in his way, not less great, in contriving means
 to make his undertakings successful; labouring
 afterwards, in concert with him, to render this
 same kingdom not only peaceable but flou-
 rishing, regulating the finances, founding trade,
 establishing the police, and, in short, recover-
 ing every part of the government from confu-
 sion.

In this work therefore are comprised two il-
 lustrious lives, mutually accompanying, en-
 lightening, and embellishing one another; that
 of

of a king, and that of a minister, his confident, nearly of the same age, carried on from the infancy of both to the death of the first, and to the time when the second saw himself removed from the management of affairs.

Add to this, that these Memoirs of Sully are yet further recommended by excellent principles of morality, by civil and political maxims derived from truth, and by an infinite number of views, projects, and regulations, of almost every kind, with which they are filled. "He alone" (says the same cotemporary author, speaking of the Duke of Sully) "first discovered the union of two things, which our fathers not only could not accommodate, but even imagined utterly incompatible; the increase of the King's revenue, and the ease and relief of the people. He that would have an idea of a good subject and an incorruptible minister of state, must look for it in this picture, where he will see economy in its best light, and policy in all its advantages; the art of using and the art of gaining power; the science of reigning as a man, and that of reigning as a king; the finest instructions and the richest examples of morality are here exhausted, and the whole supported and adorned by a knowledge of every thing, from the highest arts, to mechanic occupations."

I say it again, that as far as I know, the severest critics are not at this very day of a much different way of thinking. One need only con-

sult the Abbot Le Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Castlenau, vol. 2. book 2. p. 687.; Father Le-Long; and a multitude of modern writers: for who is there that does not cite with eulogiums the Memoirs of Sully, as the first political treatise that has shewn us the real power of this kingdom, that contains almost all that has been done by Richelieu, Mazarine, and Colbert; and which, in a word, is to be considered as the most proper school of the art of government?

In the remaining part of the preface, the French editor gives a particular account of his edition, and of the various editions which Sully's Memoirs have borne in France. But as this would afford very little instruction or entertainment to any reader, it has been thought proper to drop it altogether.

S U M M A R Y.

S U M M A R Y of B O O K I.

Memoirs from the year 1570 to 1580. State of affairs in the council of France, and those of the Calvinists, at the peace of 1570. Rosny's extraction, and anecdotes of the house of Bethune. Some account of the birth, education, and early years, of the Prince of Navarre. Idea of the government under Henry II. Francis II. and during the first years of the reign of Charles IX. Artifice of Queen Catherine of Medicis to ruin the Huguenots. Rosny engages himself in the service of the King of Navarre, and follows him to Paris. Death of the Queen of Navarre. The wounding of Admiral Coligny, and other causes of suspicion which the court gave to the Protestants. Profound dissimulation of Charles IX. Massacre of St Bartholomew; a particular relation of this event. Observations and reflections upon it. The conduct of Charles IX. and Admiral Coligny. In what manner the King of Navarre and Rosny escaped being massacred. Education of Rosny. The Calvinists resume courage, and retrieve their affairs. Flight of the Prince of Condé. Imprisonment of the princes. The insurrection of Shrove Tuesday. Death of Charles IX. His character. Henry III. returns to France, and declares war against the Huguenots. Flight of Monsieur and the King of Navarre. The Queen-mother deceives them by the peace called *the peace of Monsieur*. The war is renewed. Military rencounters, and taking of cities. Rosny's first exploits in arms. The peace of 1577. Conferences between the Queen-mother and the King
of

of Navarre. More military expeditions. Taking of Cahors, &c. Faults committed by Rosny.

S U M M A R Y of B O O K II.

Memoirs from the year 1580 to the year 1587. Affairs of Flanders. The United Provinces offer their crown to Monsieur: he goes to Holland; Rosny attends him. The taking of Câteau-Cambrésis, &c. Monsieur surprises the citadel of Cambray: he goes to England; returns to France; is hated by the Dutch and the Protestants, on account of the treachery attempted by him at Antwerp; disconcerted by the Prince of Orange. Rosny dissatisfied with Monsieur, who finding all his schemes blasted, returns to France. Rosny returns likewise, after having visited the city of Bethune. Spain makes offers to the King of Navarre. Rosny sent to the court of France by the King of Navarre: he visits Monsieur. Death of that prince. Rosny's second journey to Paris, and negotiation there: his marriage. Domestic employments. Origin, formation, and progress of the league. Henry III. joins the league against the King of Navarre. Divisions in the Calvinist party; the views of its chiefs. Rosny is again sent to Paris by the King of Navarre, to observe the motions of the league. An attempt upon Angers; fails. A dangerous journey taken by Rosny. The Prince of Condé in extreme peril. The King of Navarre in great perplexities. Military expeditions. Rosny negotiates an alliance between the two kings. The taking of Talmont, Fontenay, &c. Rosny goes to visit and assist his wife, during the calamity of the plague. Fruitless interviews between the Queen-mother and the King of Navarre. A series of military expeditions. Rosny defeats one of the enemy's

my's squadrons. Other successes of the Calvinists; a declared persecution against them. Madame de Rosny in great danger. Rosny's secret journey to Paris. The Duke of Joyeuse leads an army into Poitou, and is beat by the King of Navarre at Coutras; a particular account of this battle.

S U M M A R Y of B O O K III.

Memoirs from the year 1587 to the year 1590. Errors committed by the King of Navarre and the Protestants, after the battle of Coutras. Secret designs of the Prince of Condé, the Count of Soissons, and the Viscount Turenne. Death of the Prince of Condé; observations upon his death. The battle of the Barricades, and the consequences; reflections upon this event. The Duke and Cardinal of Guise assassinated; reflections and observations on this occasion. Death of Catherine de Medicis. The pusillanimity of Henry III. with respect to the league. Rosny negotiates a treaty of alliance between the two kings; the disgust he receives upon this occasion. Interview of the two kings. The Duke of Maienne sits down before Tours; military exploits on both sides. Battle of Fosseuse, at which Rosny is present. Death of Madame de Rosny. Military successes of the two kings. Siege of Paris. Death of Henry III.; particulars of this assassination. Henry IV. asks counsel of Rosny; the perplexing situation of this prince. The dispositions of the several officers in the royalist army with respect to him. Rosny surprises Meulan. Military expeditions. A particular account of the battle of Arques, at which Rosny was present. Skirmishes at Pollet. Henry IV. often in danger. An attempt upon Paris. Rencounters and sieges of different places. Digressions upon those Memoirs. Siege of Meulan. A Spanish army in France. Rosny defends Passi. The battle of Ivry; particulars

particulars of this battle. Rosny often in great danger ; is wounded in several places ; he is carried by his own orders to Rosny : Henry IV.'s affectionate behaviour to him there.

S U M M A R Y of B O O K I V.

Memoirs from 1590 to 1592. A mutiny in Henry's army after the battle of Ivry ; dissipation of the finances, and other causes of the little advantages he derived from it. Cities taken. Attempts on others ; disappointed. The taking of the suburbs of Paris ; the siege of this city ; particulars relating to this siege ; the causes which obliged Henry to raise it. The Prince of Parma leads an army thither : his incampment, and other military details. An error committed by Henry : he obliges the Prince of Parma to retire. The siege of Chartres. An adventure wherein Rosny is in danger of being killed : he retires to Rosny in discontent. Success of Henry IV.'s arms. The taking of Corbie, Noyon, &c. An enterprise upon Mante. The Duke of Montpensier's expeditions in Normandy. Preparations for the siege of Rouen ; errors committed at this siege. Mutual animosities between the soldiers and officers of Henry's army. Attacks, assaults, and other particulars of this siege. The Prince of Parma comes again with an army into France. The insolence of the council of sixteen. Henry advances to meet the Prince of Parma. An enterprise boldly seconded by the Duke of Nevers. The battle of Amale ; particulars of this battle, and observations upon it. Henry raises the siege of Rouen : marches, incampments, rencounters, and battles, betwixt him and the Prince of Parma, in the neighbourhood of Rouen. Observations upon these battles. A glorious exploit of the Prince of Parma at the passage of the Seine. Henry's army refuses to pursue him ; the causes of this refusal ; and reflection upon it.

S U M M A R Y of B O O K V.

Memoirs from 1592 to 1593. A succinct account of the state of affairs in the provinces of France during the years 1591 and 1592. Intrigues carried on by the Count of Soissons: his character. An abridgment of the Duke of Epemon's history: his disobedience; his character. Several parties formed in the southern provinces of France: a short account of what passed there. The siege of Villemur. The siege of Epem, where Marechal Biron is slain: his eulogium. Death of the Prince of Parma. Rosny marries again, and retires in discontent. The cause of it. He intercepts the memoirs of the negotiations between Spain and the league. A detail and examen of those papers. A third party formed in France: the persons who compose it; and their views. Henry follows Rosny's advice. The wise and cautious conduct observed by them both. Conversations betwixt them, wherein Rosny prevails upon him to change his religion. Henry founds the Protestants upon this resolution. Rosny's conference with Belloc, the two Durets, and Du-Perron. Conditions offered by the league to Henry; with what design; rejected. The meeting of the states of Paris. A project of the Prince of Parma's badly executed. Disunion of the Catholic chiefs in these states: their intrigues and artifices to supplant each other. The parliament of Paris publishes an arret. The zeal of its members for the honour of the crown. The truce. The great wisdom and ability of Henry in profiting of the dissensions among the chiefs of the league. Conduct of Villeroi and Jeannin. Rosny gives the King very prudent advice. The siege of Dreux; taken by Rosny's means. Henry removes all obstacles to his conversion. Particulars relating to his abjuration.

S U M M A R Y of B O O K VI.

Memoirs from 1593 to 1594. Conduct of Henry with regard to the Pope, Spain, the league,
and

and the Huguenots, after his abjuration. Another truce. Artifices of Spain. Barriere's attempt upon the life of Henry. The Jesuits accused and cleared of this crime. Rosny begins a negotiation with admiral Villars, to disengage him from the party of the league. Fescamp surprised by a very extraordinary method. A dispute raised about this fort. Several cities surrender to Henry. Rosny's journey to Rouen: a detail of his negotiations with Villars. The character of that governor. Rosny is employed by Henry to effect a reconciliation betwixt the Duke of Montpensier and the Count of Soissons, and to break off the marriage of the latter with the Princess Catharine. He visits the Duchess of Aumale at Anet. A farther account of his negotiations with Villars, Médavy, and others. The treaty with Villars, after many obstacles, concluded. Henry is received into Paris. Circumstances relating to this reduction. Several instances of the generosity and clemency of this prince. An accommodation with Villeroy. Rosny's third journey to Rouen. Villars sends away the deputies of Spain and the league. The ceremony with which Rouen was surrendered to the King. The conditions upon which Rosny consents to receive any gratuities. Villars comes to court. An instance of Henry's generosity. Lyons submits to the King, notwithstanding the endeavours of the Duke de Nemours to the contrary. Poitiers, Cambrai, and other cities do the same. The taking of La-Capelle by the Spaniards. The siege of Laon commences. The affairs which oblige Rosny to return to Paris: his conversation with the Cardinal of Bourbon: he supports the Jesuits in their process with the university and curates of Paris: he returns to the siege of Paris. A farther account of the siege. Henry's indefatigable labours there. A great convoy of Spaniards defeated by Biron. Rosny present at this rencounter. The King displeased with Biron. The Spaniards endeavour in vain to throw supplies into Laon.

M E M O I R S O F S U L L Y.

B O O K I.

THE court of Charles IX. flattered itself, that the calamities which had happened to the Reformed under the preceding reigns, would finally compel them either to submit to the will of the King, or to abandon the kingdom. The death of the Prince of Condé*, their chief, the loss of two great battles†, the utter dispersion of their soldiers, and the small likelihood of ever being able to reinspire with vigour the feeble remains of troops dispirited by a long series of ill success, all conspired to make the court believe, that their ruin was now become unavoidable. But a courage superior to all events, supported them in circumstances so depressing. They recollected their soldiers, who were dispersed all over the provinces; and they began again to draw near to Burgundy, Bourbon, and Berry. La-Charité was appointed for the place of their general rendezvous;

* Lewis I. brother of Antony King of Navarre, and son of Charles of Bourbon, Duke of Vendome. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Jarnac in 1569, and murdered by a pistol-shot in the back part of his head, by the Baron de Montesquieu. The Duke of Anjou was accused of having ordered this gentleman to assassinate the Prince of Condé.

† Jarnac and Moncontour.

Vezelai, and some other towns in that neighbourhood, were still in their interests. They had even the boldness to promise themselves, they should spread the alarm as far as Paris, as soon as they received a considerable supply of horse and foot, which they were made to expect from Germany.

The notice of this gave a good deal of inquietude to the Queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis. She imagined, however, that it would be easy to hinder this junction, and afterwards to disperse troops which she believed to be already under consternation. For this purpose she ordered a mighty army to put in motion. Strozzy, La-Châtre, Tavannes*, La-Valette, and all the general officers in France, were desirous of serving in it; and the Marechal de Cossé, who was to have the command, was intoxicated with the glory he should acquire, by exterminating even to the very last Huguenot soldier, and bringing the chiefs of the party bound hand and foot to the Queen-mother. He very soon altered his sentiments. The Protestant army received him with intrepidity; they were always the first to offer the battle; in the skirmishes, which were frequent, the advantage was wholly on their side; and they even obtained a sort of victory at the encounter of Arnai-le-duc†. So much obstinacy convinced the Queen-mother,

* Tavannes, a marechal of France, had been page to Francis I. and was at that time one of the counsellors and confidents of Catherine de Medicis. "In the night of St Bartholomew," says the author of the *Henriade*, "he ran through the streets of Paris, crying, Let blood, let blood; bleeding is as good in the month of August as in May. His son, who has written his memoirs, relates, that his father, when on deathbed, made a general confession of the sins of his life; after which his confessor saying to him, with an air of astonishment, Why! you speak not a word of St Bartholomew. I look upon that, replied the Marechal, as a meritorious action, which ought to atone for all the sins I have ever committed."

† It was thought, that the Marechal de Cossé would beat the Huguenot

mother, that to subdue the Protestant party, she must have recourse to other measures than war. Treachery appeared to her the surest method; and, in order to have time to concert it, she listened so favourably to proposals of an accommodation, that a peace was concluded when it was least expected, and upon conditions perfectly advantageous for the Huguenots. This was the peace of 1570*. After which, during the space of two years, each party tasted the sweets of a repose, that had been equally desired by both.

My father† retired to his house of Rosny, and employed himself in settling his domestic affairs. As it is the history of my own life, jointly with that of the prince whom I served, that is to make the sub-

guenot army, or at least prevent its approaching Paris. He did neither; on the contrary, he was obliged to retreat after a very brisk encounter, and from thenceforward contented himself with watching the motions of the enemy. In this fight, the Calvinists were commanded by the Prince of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, his cousin german, the one sixteen, the other seventeen years of age, and by the Admiral de Coligny. Matthieu (vol. 1. book 5. p. 327.) relates these words of Henry IV. after he had mounted the throne. Speaking of this encounter of Arnai-le-duc: "My first exploits in arms," said this prince, "were at René-le-duc, where the question was, Whether I should fight or retire? I had no retreat nearer than forty miles; and if I staid, I should be at the discretion of the peasants. By fighting, I ran the risk of being taken or slain; for I had no artillery, and the King's forces had. A cavalier was killed within ten paces of me by a shot from a culverin. Recommending the success of that day to God, he made it favourable and happy." In this same year the Huguenots gained the battle of Luçon, and took Marennes, the isle of Oleron, Brouage, Xaintes, &c.

* By this treaty of peace, they were put in possession of many privileges, of which they had been deprived. The number of their churches was augmented, and four cities were given them for security, viz. La-Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La-Charité. This peace, which was signed Aug. 11. was called *the lame and ill-founded peace*, because it was concluded, in name of the King, by Biron, who was lame, and by N. de Mesmes, Lord of Malassisé, which in French signifies *ill founded*.

† Francis de Bethune, Baron de Rosny, who died in 1575.

ject of these memoirs, I ought to give some account of my family and person. While in this I indulge the curiosity of the public, I beg it would be believed, that I do it without vanity or affectation. It is the obligation I am under to adhere strictly to truth, that induces me to relate every thing that will appear advantageous to me in this place, or in the progress of my memoirs.

Maximilian is my Christian name, and *Bethune* that of my family, which derives its origin, by the house of Coucy, from the ancient house of Austria, which is distinct from the present house of Austria that is in possession of the empire of Germany, and the two Spains. This last is descended only from the Counts of Habsburg and Quiburg, private gentlemen, who three hundred years ago were in the pay of the cities of Strasburg, Basil, and Zurich, and would have counted it their high honour to have been stewards to such a prince as the King of France; since Raoul, chief of this second house of Austria, was in a similar office under Ottocar King of Bohemia. But it is from the son of this Raoul, that the new stock of Austria properly begins, for he took the name of Austria instead of his own.

The house of Bethune (which has given its name to a city of Flanders, and from whence issued the counts that anciently governed that province) boasts of one Robert de Bethune, patron* of the church of Arras, whose father and grandfather, bearing also the name of Robert, were declared protectors of the province of Artois. One of these two Roberts de Bethune signalized himself in France, by the taking of La-Roche-vandais, a place of strength upon the confines of Auvergne, whither the rebel Emerigot Marcel had retired; and the other in the wars of Sicily, by killing, with his own hand, the

* The title of patron of the church was then so noble, that many sovereigns thought it an honour to be distinguished by it.

tyrant Mainfroy, in presence of the two armies. In reward of which service, Charles of Anjou, the rival of Mainfroy, very justly gave him his daughter Catherine in marriage. They mention a fourth Robert de Bethune, who gained a sea-fight over the infidels in the Mediterranean. In the church, a James de Bethune, Bishop of Cambray, at the time of the croisade of the Albigeois; and a John de Bethune, Abbot of Anchin near Valenciennes, who died in the year 1250, with the character of sanctity, and whose relics are revered as those of a martyr. The history of the croisades has taken notice of those of the family who distinguished themselves at the taking of Jerusalem, by being the first that mounted the breach. Antony and Coëfne de Bethune, treading the steps of their ancestors, were also the first who mounted the standard upon the walls of Constantinople, when Baldwin, Count of Flanders, carried this capital from Alexis Comnenus; and Coëfne obtained the government of it.

Whoever has such domestic examples as these, cannot recall them too often to his mind, to animate himself to follow them. Happy, if, during the course of my life, I have been able to demean myself in such a manner, that so many illustrious men need not disdain to acknowledge me, and that I need not myself blush at being descended from them.

In progress of time the house of Bethune increased yet more in eminence. It allied itself with almost all the sovereign houses in Europe; it entered into that of Austria; and to conclude with what does it infinitely more honour, the august house of Bourbon did not condemn its alliance.

But I ought also to acknowledge, that the branch from which I am descended, had then lost much of its primitive splendor. This branch is the issue of a younger brother, and the least substantial

of all those who have borne this name. The eldest branch having three times fallen into the female line, all the great estates it possessed in different parts of Europe, did not go to the collateral branches, but went with the daughters to the royal houses they married into.

My particular ancestors, by marrying advantageously, did not fail to restore to their branch what was wanting to enable it to support the name with dignity: but all these riches were almost entirely dissipated by the bad management and prodigality of my grandfather, who left nothing to his son, who is my father, but the estate of Anne de Melun his wife, of which it was not in his power to deprive him.

As to my personal concerns: At the time which I speak of, I entered into my eleventh year, being born the 13th of December 1560. Although I was only the second of four male children that my father had, yet the natural indispositions of my eldest brother made my father look upon me as him who must be head of his family; and all the marks of a strong complexion argued with him still more in my favour. My parents bred me in the opinions and doctrine of the Reformed, and I have continued constantly in the profession of them: neither threats, promises, diversity of events, not even the change of the King my protector, joined to his most tender solicitations, have ever been able to make me renounce them.

Henry King of Navarre*, who will have the principal

* The house of Bourbon, (says Voltaire, in his Essay on the civil wars), from Lewis IX. to Henry IV. had been almost always neglected; and was reduced to such poverty, that the famous Prince of Condé, brother to Antony King of Navarre, and uncle to Henry the Great, had no more than 600 livres a-year for his patrimony. But Matthieu (Hist. of Hen. IV. vol. 2. p. 1. & 2.) tells us, that the house
of

principal share in these memoirs, was seven years older than I, and when the peace of 1570 was concluded, entered into his eighteenth year*. A generous, open, and engaging countenance; an easy, blithe, and sprightly manner; and a singular address in all the exercises peculiar to his age, inclined all hearts to side with him. He began early † to give indications of the great talents for war, which have so highly distinguished him among other princes. Vigorous and indefatigable, (thanks to the edu-

of Bourbon was then in possession of a revenue of more than 800,000 livres a year in lands only, which was at that time thought a very ample fortune. It is certain, that this was all it possessed of the ancient estate of Bourbon, or even of the house of Montcade, the maternal stock; the estates of these two houses, which came by very opulent and illustrious alliances, being alienated to purchase the viscounty of Narbonne. See Cayet's new chron. vol. 1. book 1. p. 237.

* He was born at Pau in Bearn, Dec. 13. 1553. *Perefixe* relates some very curious particulars concerning his birth. Henry d'Albret, his grandfather, made his daughter promise to sing a song to him while she was in labour; in order, said he, that you may bring me a child that will neither weep nor make wry faces. The Princess promised, and had so much courage as, in the midst of her pains, to keep her word; and sang a song in Bearnois, her own country-language, as soon as she heard her father entered her chamber. The child came into the world without weeping or crying. His grandfather carried him to his own apartment; rubbed his little lips with a clove of garlick, and made him suck a drop of wine out of a gold cup, in order to render his constitution strong and vigorous. *Perefixe*, p. 1. *Cayet*, vol. 1. book 1. p. 241.

† This young prince, when only thirteen years of age, had judgment to discern the faults of the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral de Coligny. He was of opinion, and with great justice, that, at the great skirmish at Loudoun, if the Duke of Anjou had had troops in readiness to attack them, he would have done it: that he did not do it, but chose to retire, was an evidence of his bad condition, and therefore they should have attacked him; but this they neglected, and so gave time for all his troops to join him. At the battle of Jarnac, he represented to them as judiciously, that they had not a favourable opportunity for fighting, because the forces of the princes were scattered, and those of the Duke of Anjou all joined: but they were too far engaged to retire. At the battle of Moncontour, when he was but sixteen years of age, he cried out, We lose our advantage, and consequently the battle. *Perefixe* *ibid*.

cation

cation of his infancy *), labour was his element, and he seemed to wait with impatience for occasions of

* He was brought up in the castle of Coarasse in Bearn, situated amidst rocks and mountains. Henry d'Albret would have him clothed and fed like other children in that country, and even accustomed to run up and down the rocks. It is said, that his ordinary food was brown bread, beef, cheese, and garlick; and that he was often made to walk barefoot and bareheaded. *Peref. ib.*

While he was in the cradle, he was called *Prince of Viane*. A little time after, they gave him the title of *Duke of Beaumont*, and afterwards that of *Prince of Navarre*. The Queen of Navarre, his mother, took great care of his education, and assigned him for his preceptor La-Gaucherie, a learned man, but a great Calvinist.

Having while yet a child been presented to Henry II. the King asked him, if he would be his son. He is my father, replied the little Prince, pointing to the King of Navarre. Well, said the King, will you be my son-in-law then? Oh, with all my heart, answered the Prince. From that time his marriage with the Princess Margaret was settled.—At Bayonne, the Duke de Medina, looking earnestly at him, said, This prince either will, or ought to be an Emperor. *Cayet, vol. 1. book 1. p. 240.*

We find, in the Memoirs of Nevers, some letters written, in 1567, by the principal magistrates of Bourdeaux, that contain several very interesting particulars concerning the person of young Henry. "We have here the Prince of Bearn. It must be confessed, that he is a pretty youth. At the age of thirteen, he has all the qualities of one of eighteen or nineteen. He is agreeable, polite, and engaging. He converses with every body with an air so easy, that he occasions a croud to assemble where-ever he is. He enters into conversation like an accomplished gentleman; speaks always to the purpose; and when the court happens to be the subject of discourse, it is easy to see that he is perfectly well acquainted with it, and never says more nor less than he ought, in whatever place he is. I shall all my life hate the new religion for having robbed us of so worthy a subject." And in another, "Though his hair be a little red, the ladies do not think him the less agreeable for that. His face is finely shaped, his nose neither too large nor too small; his eyes full of sweetness, his skin brown, but very clear; and his whole mien animated with an uncommon vivacity; so that if he is not well with the ladies, he is very unfortunate." Again, "He loves diversion and good cheer. When he wants money, he has the address to procure it, and that in a manner quite new, and equally agreeable to himself as to others; viz. To those, whether men or women, whom he believes his friends, he sends a promissory note, written and signed by himself, and prays them to send him back the note, or the sum contained in it. Judge, if there be a house that can refuse him. It is accounted an honour to have a note from this prince," &c. *vol. 2 p. 586.*

acquiring

acquiring glory. The crown of France not being as yet an object upon which his desires could be intent, he loved to entertain himself with schemes of recovering that of Navarre, which Spain had so unjustly usurped upon his house; and he reckoned he should be able to accomplish this end, by entertaining secret intelligence with the Moors in Spain*. The enmity he bore to this power, was manifest; it was born with him, and he was never at any pains to conceal it. He felt his courage heated at the relation of the battle of Lepanto†, which was fought at this time, so intensely, that a similar opportunity of signalizing himself against the infidels, became one of his most ardent wishes. The vast and flattering hopes which the diviners agreed in making him conceive, were almost always present to his mind. He saw the foundation of them in that affection which Charles IX. early entertained for him, and which considerably increased a short time before his death: but all full as he was of these happy presages, he laboured to second them only in secret, and never disclosed his thoughts to any person but a small number of intimate confidants.

In order to form a just idea, either of the general state of affairs in the government of France, or of those of the young Prince of Navarre in particular, and what he might have to hope or fear in the times of which we are speaking, it is necessary succinctly to relate the different steps taken by the ministry, both before and after the death

* My ewe, said Henry d'Albret, has brought forth a lion. He added from a secret presage, that the child would revenge him on Spain for the injuries she had done him. *Peref. ib.*

† Gained this year over the Turks by Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles V. and generalissimo of the Spanish and Venetian troops.

of the King of Navarre his father*, slain before Rouen. I shall go back, therefore, to the rupture that kindled the war between Henry II. and Philip II. King of Spain. By which side soever it was occasioned, the event was not so favourable to France, as it was convenient for the views of the two men who had counselled it. These were the Constable de Montmorency, and the Duke de Guise, who hoped these troubles would furnish the means of reciprocally supplanting each other. In this war there was sufficient employment for both the two. The Duke of Guise, at the head of a strong army, passed into Italy, where he performed nothing worthy his reputation. But the Constable did a great deal worse. The most shining employment, which was the command of the army in Flanders, he reserved for himself, and lost St Quentin, with the battle of that name, where he was taken prisoner himself. This defeat was followed by that of Marshal Thermes at Gravelines.

The Duke of Guise saw all his wishes completed by these unfortunate events. He was recalled from Italy, to put himself singly at the head of the council and armies, with which he made an acquisition of Calais to France. The Constable in his prison felt exquisitely this blow; and to get off to defend his rights at any rate, he treated of a peace with Spain. It was not indeed honourable for the King

* Antony de Bourbon, husband of Jane d'Albret Queen of Navarre. He turned Catholic. M. de Thou relates an anecdote of him, which we shall give in the words of the author of the *Henriade*. Francis de Guise, says he, designed to assassinate him in the chamber of Francis II. Antony of Navarre had a great deal of courage, though his judgment was weak. He was informed of the plot, yet went resolutely into the chamber where it was to be executed. If they murder me, said he to Reinsy, one of his gentlemen, take my bloody shirt, and carry it to my wife and son. They will learn from my blood what they ought to do to revenge me. Francis II. durst not stain himself with this crime; and the Duke de Guise, at leaving his chamber, cried out, What a poor King have we!

his master, but it released him from captivity. He lost every thing in the person of Henry II. who was slain * amidst the pomp of the marriage of his daughter with the King of Spain, which was the seal of the peace. Francis II. who succeeded him, was young, weak, and infirm; and as he had married the niece of the Duke of Guise †, that nobleman came in his turn singly to direct the King and the kingdom. The Protestants could not have fallen into the hands of a more cruel enemy. He was busied in forming vast projects, and meditating the strangest catastrophes in France, when he himself did partake in the vicissitudes of fortune. Francis II. failed him; a disease of the ear ‡ having put an end to the days of this prince, in a manner abundantly sudden. The reign of Charles IX. his brother, yet an infant, was singular in this, that the authority seemed to be equally divided amongst the Queen-mother, the princes of the blood, the Guises, and the Constable; inasmuch as each of them secretly headed a separate party. The good destiny of the Duke of Guise placed him a second time at the head of affairs, by the union that Catherine made with him. Upon this union she even founded the principal part of her politics; and it is pretended the hatred she began to shew towards the princes of Bourbon, had a great share in it. This aversion arose from her having taken it into her head, upon the faith of an astrologer, that none of the princes her sons should have issue; upon which supposition the crown must pass to a branch of the house of Bourbon. She could not resolve to see it go out of her family, and

* Struck in the eye with a splinter of a lance in a tournament, where he ran against the Count de Montgomery, July 10. 1559

† Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, daughter of James V. King of Scotland, and of Mary of Lorrain, of the house of Guise.

‡ The abscess that he had in this part turning to a mortification, he died Dec. 5. 1560. No more was necessary to raise a suspicion of his having been poisoned.

[therefore]

[therefore] destined it to the posterity of her daughter; who was married to the Duke of Lorraine. Whatever there may be in this predilection of the Queen-mother *, it is certain it gave birth to two parties in politics as well as religion, which began from that moment to fill the kingdom with confusion, horror, and the most frightful calamities.

This terrible storm would seem as if it had gathered to break precisely upon the head of the young Prince of Navarre. The King of Navarre, his father, was just then dead †. His death, indeed, left a prince and a king to be head of the Reformed religion in France: but this prince was a child of seven years of age, exposed to all the attacks of the new council, who acted in concert with the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spain, and all the Catholics of Europe. In effect, this party experienced the most cruel reverses; yet, by the wise conduct of its chiefs, and the forward talents of young Henry, it supported itself with glory till the peace of 1570, at which period these Memoirs commence.

Prince Henry made use of the quiet that was given him, to visit his estates, and his government of Guyenne: after which he came to settle in Rochelle, with the Queen of Navarre his mother, the Admi-

* M. l'Abbé le Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, assigns another reason for Catherine's hatred to the King of Navarre. He assures us, he had read in some memoirs, that this prince and the Duke d'Alençon being prisoners together, they conspired to strangle the Queen-mother with their own hands, when she came into their chamber. This resolution was not executed through the horror they themselves felt at the fact; and the King of Navarre afterwards but ill concealing the secret, Catherine de Medicis was to the last degree irritated against him.

† The author is mistaken in placing the death of Antony King of Navarre in 1560: it did not happen till 1562, by a wound which he received at the siege of Rouen. See his character and elogium in the memoirs of Brantome, vol. 3. p. 242.

ral de Coligny *, and the principal chiefs of the Protestant party; to whom this important city, far distant from the court, seemed most advantageous for the interest of their religion. This was a most wise resolution, had they only known to have followed it out.

Queen Catherine dissembled the trouble this conduct gave her, and, during the whole year 1571, spoke only of faithfully observing the treaties, of entering into a closer correspondence with the Protestants, and carefully preventing every cause that might rekindle the war. This was the pretext of the Marechal de Cossé's deputation, whom she sent to Rochelle with Malassize and La-Proûtiere, masters of requests, her creatures and confidants; but the true motive was, to observe all the proceedings of the Calvinists, to sound their inclinations, and draw them insensibly to such an entire confidence in her, as was absolutely necessary to her designs. She neglected nothing on her part of all that was capable to inspire it into them. The Marechal de Montmorency was sent to Rouen with the President de Morfan, to do justice there for the outrages committed against the Huguenots; the infringements of the treaty of peace were severely punished; and King Charles usually called it his treaty, and his peace. This prince would on all occasions artfully insinuate, that he consented to this peace, in order to support the princes of his blood against the too great authority of the Guises, whom he accused of conspiring with Spain to imbroid the kingdom †. These noblemen seemed daily to decrease in

* Gaspard de Coligny, Lord of Chatillon-sur-Loing, Admiral of France.

† Charles IX. naturally hated the Duke of Guise. He was so disgusted at his having demanded the Princess Margaret his sister in marriage, that one day talking on this subject to the Grand Prior of France, natural son of Henry II. he said, shewing him two swords,

in favour ; and their complaints, whether true or false, gave all imaginable colour to this report. Charles did not even make the least difficulty of advancing as far as Blois and Bourgueil, to confer with the Reformed ; who for their deputies had named Teligny *, son-in-law to the Admiral, Briquemaut, Beauvais-la-Nocle, and Cavagne ; and these four deputies, going afterwards to Paris, were there loaded with presents and civilities.

The Marechal de Cossé did not fail to make the most of these appearances of sincerity. After he had by these means insinuated himself, he began to entertain the Queen of Navarre more seriously, with the project of a marriage between the Prince her son, and the Princess Margaret, sister to the King of France : he was commissioned by Charles to promise a portion of 400,000 crowns. For the Prince of Condé, he proposed the third heiress of Cleves, a very considerable match ; and the Countess d'Entremont for the Admiral de Coligny. As they well foresaw, that he would be more obstinate to their persuasions than all the others besides, therefore the Marechal de Cossé annexed to this last article of marriages, a present of 100,000 crowns, which the King engaged to give the Admiral, together with a grant of all the benefices which his brother the Cardinal had enjoyed†. The Marechal

“ Of these two swords that thou seest, there is one to kill thee, if
“ to-morrow at the chace thou dost not kill the Duke of Guise with
“ the other.” These words were afterwards repeated to the Duke of Guise, who quitted his pursuit. *Matth. book 6. p. 333.* The same historian adds, that Charles IX. pursued the Duke of Guise one day with a javelin in his hand, which he struck forcibly into a door, just at the time the Duke came out of it, for having, at play, touched him with a file. *Ibid. p. 376.*

* He had a face so sweet and graceful, that, at the massacre of St Bartholomew, those who were first sent to assassinate him, stopt, as in suspense, and had not resolution enough to strike the blow.

† Odet de Chastillon, Cardinal Bishop of Bauvais, Abbot of St Benoit

chal de Biron came to confirm these shining offers, and finally gained the Queen of Navarre, by making a feigned confidence to her of the suspicions entertained at court, that Philip II. King of Spain had poisoned the Queen his wife, Elisabeth of France*, falsely accused of an intrigue with the Infant Don Carlos†. He told her farther, under an injunction of secrecy, that the court being resolved to revenge this injury, would carry the war into Flanders and Artois, the restitution of which would be demanded from the King of Spain, as being ancient fiefs of the crown, as well as that of Navarre; and that they would begin with succouring Mons, which the Prince of Orange‡ had just taken from the Spaniards.

And for the finishing stroke, he added, that the King had an eye upon the Admiral for conducting his army, with the title of *Viceroy of the Low*

Benoit sur Loire, &c. He was made a cardinal at sixteen years of age; and though he was degraded from this dignity by Pope Pius IV. he was publicly married, in the habit of a cardinal, to Elisabeth de Hauteville, a lady of Normandy, to whom he gave the title of *Countess of Bauvais*, and as such she took rank at the public ceremonies. In 1564, he was arraigned for high treason before the parliament of Paris. He died in the beginning of 1571, at Southampton in England, whither he had been sent, during the war, to support the interests of the Calvinists with Q. Elisabeth; and after the peace, he was employed by the King to treat of a marriage between that princess and the Duke of Alençon. It is certain, though D'Aubigné takes no notice of it, that his valet de chambre poisoned him with an apple, as he was preparing to return to France, which he was recalled by the Admiral his brother. *De Thou, lib. 50.* — D'Aubigné adds, that the Admiral was in reality put into possession of great part of these benefices, and enjoyed them all for one year; and that Charles IX. gave him also 100,000 francs, to purchase furniture for his house of Chastillon. *D'Aubigné, vol. 2. book 1. chap. 1.*

* Eldest daughter of Henry II. and Catherine de Medicis. Most of our French historians are of this opinion. The Spaniards attribute her death to bleeding, and medicines, that the physicians, not knowing that she was with child, made her take. She died a little time after, in 1658.

† Don Carlos, Prince of Spain, whom Philip II. his father also put to a violent death.

‡ William of Nassau, Prince of Orange.

Countries: and he was actually, at that instant, permitted to nominate the general officers that were to serve under him, as a little before they had left it to him to nominate the commissioners of the peace. The report of this expedition into the Low Countries spread so far, that it is certain, the Grand Seignior offered the King of France his galleys and troops to make a diversion, and to facilitate the conquest. With regard to the Queen of England, nothing was omitted that ought to have been done on this occasion. Montmorency was sent ambassador thither, with instructions to use every method by which he might gain this princess, and dispose her to chuse one of the King's brothers for a husband: A marriage which, they said, would alike strengthen the union of the two religions, and the two powers.

This proceeding, so full of seeming frankness, ought to have been suspected by its being overacted; yet it had the designed effect; and the discourse of the courtiers did not a little contribute towards it. The desire of breathing the air of a court devoted to pleasure, and of enjoying the honours that were prepared for them, conduced more than any thing to remove their scruples. Beauvais, Boursaut, and Francourt, were the first who suffered themselves to be persuaded; and they afterwards made it, in some sort, a point of honour, to persuade others. Some hints of a journey to Paris had been already thrown out; these three persons strongly supported that design, and represented to the Queen of Navarre, that if she refused to go upon this occasion, she would not only give offence to the King, but might also lose the fruit of the most favourable of all conjunctures. She was at first distrustful: she balanced some months, and submitted about the end of 1571. In the beginning of 1572, preparations were made for the journey, and the time of depar-

ture was at last actually settled for the month of May following.

The Huguenots, one would imagine, had affected to close their eyes, that they might not see a thousand circumstances, that ought to have made the sincerity of so many great promises suspected. The King and Queen could not dissemble so effectually, as never to lie open to penetration. It was known, that Charles had one day said to Catherine, "Do I not play my cue well?" To which she answered, "Admirably, my son; but you must hold out to the end." Something also had transpired, relating to the result of the conferences held at Bayonne *, between the courts of France and Spain. The King of Navarre had been very ill received in his government of Guyenne: Bourdeaux had shut its gates against him; and the Marquis de Villars, who commanded the royal army there, would neither withdraw his troops, nor allow them to receive orders from the Prince. In Rochelle, they were not ignorant that the King had actually a naval force over all that coast, which they supposed to be destined for Holland. The citizens had moreover discovered the artifices which Strozzy, La-Garde, Lansac, and Landereau, had made use of to gain the custody of their gates, and to seize

* In 1564, the Queen-mother, after having traversed a great part of the kingdom, advanced to Bayonne, where she had many private conferences with the Duke d'Albe, who had accompanied the Queen of Spain thither. There were appearances sufficient to induce a belief, that these conferences related to an alliance between the Pope, France, and the house of Austria, and the means by which they should extirpate the Protestant party. But there is no certainty, that the design of the massacre of St Bartholomew, which was not put in execution till seven years after, was formed there. Matthieu tells us, that the Prince of Navarre being then a child, and almost continually with Catherine de Medicis, heard something of the plot to exterminate the chiefs of the Protestant party; that he gave notice of it to the Queen his mother, and she to the Prince of Condé and the Admiral; and that the rage this inspired them with, carried them to the enterprise at Meaux. *Hist. of France, vol. 1. p. 283.*

their city. In fine, while they made a merit of their exactness in maintaining the treaty of peace in its fullest extent, it was but too easy to discern an infinitude of outrages done the Reformed, which the court had either authorised or tolerated. The Chancellor de L' Hopital, for offering to execute justice upon the aggressors at Rouen, Dieppe, Orange, &c. and for refusing to seal the revocation of an edict of pacification, had been banished the court. Without all this, it might (one should think) have been sufficient to the Huguenots, to have known, as they did, the characters of Catherine and her son. Could they flatter themselves, that this prince, naturally passionate and vindictive, would forget the attempt at Meaux *, the invasion of Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Lion, &c. ; Havre given up by the Huguenots to the English, foreigners introduced into the heart of the kingdom, so many battles fought, so much blood shed? *The interest of the state*, that big word so much in the mouths of sovereigns, because it lends the mask of good policy to their personal resentments, and other passions, will scarcely permit them to suffer their subjects to engage in such enterprises with impunity. As for Catherine, she had to that moment persisted in imputing to them the death of her husband, which she could never pardon, any more than their having treated as antichrist those of the house of Medicis. Nor was there less imprudence in trusting the Parisians, whose animosity and fury against the Huguenots was just then signally manifested, in the affair of the Cross

* In the year 1567, the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral de Coligny, formed the design of seizing Charles IX. at Meaux, where he then was, and from whence the Queen-mother made him set out precipitately at night, to return to Paris. This design would have been executed, but for the seasonable arrival of 3000 Swiss, who covered the King in his march, and the Calvinists durst not attack him. See the historians.

of Gatine *. My father was so sensibly struck with these motives, that he discovered himself incredulous, upon the first advice which he received of the journey of the court of Navarre to Paris. Persuaded, that the present calm would be of short continuance, he made haste to avail himself of it, in order to shut himself up immediately, with all his effects, in Rochelle, when every one else talked of nothing but leaving it. The Queen of Navarre herself informed him more particularly of this design soon after, and ordered him to join her in her passage, at Vendome. He made himself ready to set out; and being desirous of taking me with him, he ordered me, some days before that of his departure, to attend him in his chamber; and no one being present but La-Durandiere, my preceptor, he thus spoke to me. "Maximilian, since custom does not permit me to make you the principal heir of my fortune, I will, in compensation, endeavour to enrich you with virtues; by means of which, I hope, as hath been foretold me, you shall one day become something. Prepare yourself, therefore, to support with fortitude all the disappoint-

* The following is the fact, as related by M. de Thou, book 50. anno 1571. Philip Gatine, a rich merchant of St Denis street, having been some years before convicted of lending his house to the Huguenots for a church, he was condemned, by the parliament of Paris, to be hanged or burnt on the 30th of July. His house being demolished, in its place was erected a pillar, in the form of a cross, which was afterwards called *the cross of Gatine*. With the edict of pacification passed in 1570, the Calvinists obtained, that this cross should be thrown down; which, after some delays, was at last executed, but not without such violent tumults among the populace, that the council was obliged to send some troops thither, under the command of the Duke de Montmorency. Felibien says, that this cross was replaced at the entry of the church-yard of the Innocents, after the iron plate, upon which the decree of the parliament was engraved, had been taken away, and that it is still to be seen there. And Sauval mentions the place where this house stood, in the street of St Denis, overagainst the street of the Lombards; where indeed there is a hollow in the ground, which possibly might be the foundation of Gatine's house.

“ments and difficulties you may meet with in the
“world, and by nobly surmounting them, acquire
“the esteem of men of honour, particularly that
“of the master to whom I mean to give you, and
“in whose service I would recommend it to you
“to live and die. While I am upon my departure
“for Vendome, to meet there the Queen of Na-
“varre, and the Prince her son; do you also make
“yourself ready to come along with me, and pre-
“pare a speech to present your service to the
“Prince, when I shall present him your person.”

I did in consequence accompany him to Vendome*. He found there a general security, and an air of gladness on every face, to which he durst not in public object; but as often as he had an opportunity of conversing in private, either with the Queen, or the Prince, the Admiral, the Counts Ludovic and Rochefoucaut, and the other Protestant Lords, he very freely told them, he was surprisèd they had so soon forgotten the subjects of a fear so well grounded; that, on the part of a reconciled enemy, an excess of promises and caresses was no less suspicious, and greatly more dangerous, than that of menaces and avowed hatred; that it was, besides, to hazard a great deal, to expose a young prince, too little guarded against the allurements of pleasure, to the attractions of the most voluptuous court in the world. He represented to them, that, instead of dreaming of an alliance so unhappy as that of this prince and a princess who professed a different religion, it had been more to the purpose, to have pushed a marriage with the Queen of England, who could have so usefully served him in re-

* Francis de Bethune, the author's father, followed the Prince of Condé to the battle of Jarnac, and was there taken prisoner. An indictment of high treason was made out against him, for having borne arms against his Majesty; and his estates were seized, but were restored to him at the peace. *Du Chesne,*

covering the crown of Navarre, and possibly, according to conjunctures, that of France. He had so strong a foreboding of the fatal consequences of this French match, that he oftentimes said, if these nuptials were celebrated at Paris, he foresaw that "the bridal-favours would be very red." These were his own expressions. An advice so discreet was not taken but for the effect of weakness and timidity. My father, not affecting to seem wiser than so many persons more enlightened, suffered himself, contrary to his own sentiments, to be carried down with the torrent; and only demanded time to put himself into a condition of appearing with that splendor his rank required, in a court where all was magnificent. For this purpose, he again took the road to Rosny; but first he presented me to the Prince of Navarre, in the presence of the Queen his mother, and gave him, in my name, assurances of an inviolable attachment; which I confirmed with a good deal of assurance, putting one knee to the ground. The Prince raised me immediately, and, after twice embracing me, had the goodness to commend the zeal which all my family had ever discovered for him, and, with his natural engaging air, promised me his protection; a promise I at that time regarded as the mere effect of his complaisance, but which I have since seen accomplished far beyond my hopes and merit. I did not return to Rosny with my father, but went to Paris in the train of the Queen of Navarre. As soon as I arrived, my youth making me feel how much I had need of instruction, I applied myself closely to study, not ceasing, however, to make my court to the Prince my master. I lived with a governor and valet de chambre, at a distance from the court (in the quarter of Paris where almost all the colleges are), until the bloody catastrophe which happened a short time after.

Nothing could be kinder than the reception and treatment

treatment which the Queen of Navarre, her children and principal servants, met with from the King and Queen-mother. Charles IX. was continually praising the virtues and probity of the Count de Rochefoucaut, de Taligny, Refnel, Beaudifner, Piles, Pluviaut, Colombieres, Grammont, Duras, Bouchavannes, Gamache, my father, and other Protestant Lords. The Admiral he always called father, and took it upon himself to reconcile to him the princes of the house of Guise. To him also he granted the pardon of Villandry *, which he had refused to his own mother and his brothers, his crime being thought unpardonable. When the Admiral was wounded, the King, upon the first notice of it, broke into oaths and threatenings, and vowed he would make the assassin † be searched for, in the darkest corner of the palaces of the Guises. He would have all the court, after his example, to visit the

* Villandry being at play with the King, was so rash as to commit some offence against Majesty itself, for which he was sentenced to be put to death. *Davila, book 5.* See also the fact particularised by D'Aubigné, vol. 2. book 1. chap. 2.

† He was called Nicholas de Louviers, Lord of Maurevert in Brie. "Must I," said Charles IX. throwing his racket at him in a rage, "be perpetually troubled with new broils? shall I never have any quiet?" Many have doubted, whether these threatenings and transports of Charles were not sincere; and whether this prince, who had at first apparently entered into all the designs of the Queen his mother, did not suffer himself at last to be gained by the Admiral de Coligny, in those private conversations, in which the Admiral never ceased to represent to him the effects of this princess's bad government, and to exhort him to shake off his dependence on her. Villeroy's memoirs of state, vol. 2. p. 55. & 66. and many other writers of those times, give such strong proofs of this fact, that it is very difficult to decide upon this question. If we may believe the memoirs of Tavannes, there was so little agreement between Charles IX. and his mother, that Catherine saw no other means of preserving her authority, which she was upon the point of losing, than by causing the Admiral to be assassinated; and this writer pretends, that Maurevert was suborned, unknown to the King, to strike the blow. On the other side, Matthieu believes he is well founded in maintaining, vol. 1. book 6. that Charles IX. deceived the Admiral from first to last.

the wounded Admiral. When the Guises begged of this prince, that he would deign to hear their vindication, they were very ill received. The Spanish ambassador was on this occasion so ill treated,

last. He relates, that this prince observing the opposition made by some of his counsellors to the design of extirpating the Huguenots, represented to them in a rage, that the kingdom was lost, if their plot was not executed that very night; because, should that night pass, there would not be time to prevent the projects of the rebels, with which, he said, he was well acquainted. He added, that those who did not approve of his resolution, would never be considered by him as his servants.

But this historian does not advert, that, a few pages after, he himself lessens the weight of these proofs, by relating a conversation which Henry III. had in Poland with his physician Miron; of which the following is an abridgment. Henry III. then Duke of Anjou, going, some days before the massacre of St Bartholomew, into the chamber of the King his brother, observed, that this prince looked upon him with eyes so full of rage, and with an air so furious, that, apprehending the consequence of these violent emotions, he softly regained the door, and hurried immediately to give the alarm to the Queen-mother. She being but too much disposed to believe it, from what had happened to herself, resolved to get rid of Coligny without further delay. Maurevert having partly failed in his attempt, since he only wounded the Admiral in the arm, the Queen-mother and the Duke of Anjou, finding they could not hinder the King from visiting him, thought it necessary to accompany him, and, under pretence of sparing the Admiral's strength, interrupted, as often as they could, the private conversation they held together. During this visit, Catherine, who was surrounded with Calvinists, observed, that they frequently whispered to each other, and looked on her from time to time with very suspicious eyes. This adventure she reckoned to be the most dangerous she had ever been engaged in. As they returned, she pressed the King so vehemently to tell her what had passed between him and the Admiral, that this prince could not hinder himself from betraying it, by telling her, with his usual oath, that she spoiled all his affairs, or some words to that purpose. Catherine, now more alarmed than before, had recourse to an artifice which succeeded. She represented, in the strongest terms, to her son, that he was ready to fall into the snare, which, as she imagined, the Admiral had laid for him; that he was on the point of being delivered up to the Huguenots, combined with strangers; without having any thing to hope for from his Catholic subjects, who, through disgust at finding themselves betrayed, had chosen another leader. She was so well seconded by all the other counsellors, excepting only the Marechal de Retz, that Charles IX. himself, being seized with fear,

treated, that he thought fit to withdraw. Pope Pius V. was not spared in the transports of Charles, he having refused the necessary dispensation for Henry's marriage with the Princess Margaret, for which they prepared with the utmost magnificence. The King carried his deference for this prince so far, as to dispense with his going into the church of Notre-dame *. He was even excused from ob-
serving

fear, and passing from one extreme to another, was the first to propose, and even press, the murder not only of the Admiral, but of all the Huguenots; to the end, said he, that there may not one be left to reproach me. All the rest of that day, and the following night, they consulted upon the means of executing the design. At break of day, Charles, the Queen-mother, and the Duke of Anjou, went to the gate of the Louvre, and hearing a pistol go off, fear and remorse seized them. The King sent orders to the Duke of Guise to suspend further proceedings. To which the Duke replied, his orders had come too late: and they taking fresh courage, joined in every thing that was afterwards done.

It is possible, I think, to reconcile these different opinions, and preserve to the proofs alledged on each side all their force, by saying, that Charles IX. who undoubtedly invited the Admiral to Paris, in order to have him murdered with the rest of the Huguenots, suffered himself to be shaken by his speeches; that he embraced alternately propositions from both the contending parties; and that their different speeches threw him into a state of irresolution, from whence he was only freed by the natural impetuosity of his temper, of which Catherine knew well how to avail herself. Coligny's security proceeded from his not being able to doubt the efficacy of his arguments on the mind of this prince: otherwise, it would not have been possible for Charles to have so long imposed upon a man of the Admiral's great abilities and prudence. A young king of three and twenty, who, till that moment, had been almost always governed by others, was not capable of that deep policy which they have had the complaisance to attribute to him. It must be confessed, however, that this young prince already carried dissimulation to its utmost height; of which his having never discovered the secrets of his council, or those of the Admiral to each other, although strongly pressed to it, is an incontestable proof.

* The King's resolution was, that the marriage should not be celebrated in a manner wholly conformable to either religion. Not to the Calvinist, because the vows were to be received by a priest, who was to be the Cardinal of Bourbon; not to the Romish, because these vows were to be received without the sacramental ceremonies of the church.

serving all the Romish ceremonies. The Cardinal de Bourbon *, making some remonstrances upon these tolerations, which to him appeared excessive, was dismissed with a severe reprimand. The face of things was wholly changed upon the death of the Queen of Navarre; all the court appeared sensibly touched, and went into deep mourning. In a word, it is not giving too strong a name to all this conduct of Catherine and her son, to call it an almost incredible prodigy of dissimulation; seeing she could insnare by it so discreet a man as the Admiral de Coligny, and that, notwithstanding a thousand circumstances concurring, one would think, to make him apprehend the danger that was approaching: for it was openly said, that Genlis and La-Nouë, who had been sent to the assistance of the Prince of Orange, were defeated † by the connivance of the French court; which, while it was uncertain of success in the principal object of its dissimulation, could not think of risking all the consequences which that dissimulation might produce.

A great scaffold was erected in the court before the principal gate and entry of the church of Paris, on Monday August 18. 1572, upon which were betrothed and married on the same day, and by a single act, the Most High, &c. This done, the bridegroom retired to meeting to hear a sermon, and the bride went into the church to hear mass, according to the articles of the treaty of marriage: after which they both came to the entertainment prepared for them in the great hall of the palace, &c. *B. le Grain, Dec. of Hen. IV. book 2.*

Charles IX. gave his sister 300.000 crowns for a portion; and the Queen of Navarre yielded the Upper and Low Counties of Armagnac, &c. to her son at his marriage. *Matthieu, vol. 1. book 6.*

* Charles de Bourbon, Cardinal, uncle to Henry IV.

† John d'Angest d'Ivoy, of the ancient house of Genlis. Francis de la Nouë, a gentleman of the greatest reputation in the Protestant party, and esteemed even by the Catholics themselves. The Admiral, speaking of this misfortune to Charles IX. attributed it to the secret being but ill kept in the council. Charles demanded of the Duke of Alba, by Claude Monduet, his resident in the Low Countries, the French Protestant gentlemen who had been taken prisoners. *De Thou, anno 1572, book 51.*

They were also informed of the conferences which the Queen-mother, and the principal ministers, held with Cardinal Alexandrin, nephew of Pope Pius V. and with the Guises; the last having been twice discovered conversing in mask with the King, the Queen-mother, the Duke de Retz, and the Chancellor de Birague *. This was sufficient to shew what they ought to think of their pretended disgrace. In the death of the Queen of Navarre †, they thought they could perceive manifest indications of poison. It passed for certain, that the wound the Admiral received came from the house of Villemur, preceptor to the Guises; and that the assassin had been met in his flight, upon a horse belonging to the King's stable. Even the guards that Charles ‡ placed about the Admiral after

* Of him it was said, that he was cardinal without a title, chancellor without seals, and priest without a benefice.

† She was lodged with Charles Gaillart, Bishop of Chartres, a man violently suspected of Calvinism. Soon after her return from Blois, whither she had followed the court, she was seized with a violent fever, and died on the 5th day of her illness. There were many different opinions concerning the manner of her death. The Memoirs of L'Etoile, D'Aubigné, and all the Calvinists, ascribe it to poison, which they say was given her in a pair of gloves by a Florentine, whose name was *René*, perfumer to the Queen-mother. De-Serres gives us to understand, that the physicians who opened her body, had orders not to touch her brain, which was supposed to be affected with the poison. But they are all strongly contradicted by Le Grain, and several others, who maintain that she died of a pleurisy, occasioned by her being overheated in making preparations for the nuptials of her son: to which was added the vexation she conceived at being obliged to kneel to the holy sacrament as it passed before her house, on corpus Christi day. La Popelieniere, Perefixe, and De Thou, endeavour to remove all suspicions of poison. The last mentioned assures us, that Charles IX. ordered the head of this princess to be opened, as well as the rest of her body; and if the physicians did not do it, it was because they found the true cause of her death in an abscess she had in her body. This is also the opinion of Matthieu.

‡ All this is true, and proves, that this stratagem was the work of the Queen-mother, and not that of the King. It is hard to say, what

was

ter this attempt, under pretext of securing his person, were, the greatest part of them, his declared enemies. It was no less certain, that all the citizens of Paris were furnished with arms, which, by the King's order, they kept in their houses.

The most clear-sighted among the Huguenots, yielding to proofs so convincing, quitted the court, and Paris itself, or lodged at least in the suburbs. Of this number were Mess. de Langoiran, de Frontenay, the Viscount de Chartres, de Loncaunay, de Rabodanges, Du-Breüil, de Segur, de Say, Du-Touchet, Des-Hayes, de Saint-Gelais, de Chouppes, de Beauvais, de Grandrie, de St-Etienne, d'Arnes, de Boifec, and many other gentlemen of Normandy and Poitou*. Happily my father was one of those, whose life was preserved by a wise distrust. When they were pressed to come nearer the court, they replied, that they found the air of the suburbs was better for their health, and the air of

was her real intention in striking this stroke; whether she sought to get rid of a man who possessed too much power over the King's mind, and was capable of ruining her design of exterminating all the Huguenots; or whether, if the Admiral had died of this wound, she would have confined her vengeance to his single death; or, lastly, whether she expected the noise of this assassination would excite the Calvinists in Paris to revolt, and by that means furnish her with the occasion she wanted, to fall upon them with a high hand, for which her party was already prepared. Many expedients were proposed in the council to give a pretence for attacking them; amongst others, the assault of an artificial fort built in the Louvre, which would afford them an opportunity of turning the feigned slaughter into a real one against the Huguenots. At last, they resolved to put them all to the sword in the night.

The Admiral lodged in the street Bedisy in an inn, which is called at present the *Hotel S. Pierre*. The chamber where he was murdered is still shewn there.

* All the persons here mentioned earnestly pressed the Admiral to abandon Paris. "By doing so," said he, "I must shew either fear or distrust. My honour would be injured by the one, by the other the King. I should be again obliged to have recourse to a civil war; and I would rather die than see again the miseries I have seen, and suffer the distress I have already suffered." *Matthieu, vol. 1. book 6. p. 343.*

the fields still better than that of the suburbs. When they were informed, that the Bishop of Valence, in taking leave of the King for his ambassy to Poland, had penetrated into the secret, and been indiscreet enough to reveal it to some of his friends, and that they had intercepted letters sent to Rome by the Cardinal de Pellevé, in which he unveiled all this mystery to the Cardinal de Lorraine; then it was, that these gentlemen redoubled their importunity with the King of Navarre, either to quit Paris himself, or at least to permit them to retire to their own homes. To their advice the Prince opposed that which had been given him by a number of other persons, and even in the Protestant party; for where are not traitors to be found? They warned him to be distrustful; they noted to him the names of all those who had been gained over by the Queen-mother to deceive him. He listened to nothing. The Admiral * appeared no less incredulous: his bad destiny began by blinding, to destroy him. Happy, if he had had the prudence of the Marechal de Montmorency, whom they could never draw from Chantilly, although the King incessantly plied him to partake in the favour of the Admiral, and to continue near his person, to aid him in his counsels.

* It has been said, that all the fine actions which the Admiral de Coligny performed in his life, were against his God, his religion, his country, and his King. How much is it to be lamented, that he did not employ his talents more usefully! For all the historians agree, that he was the most consummate politician, and the greatest warrior that ever appeared. It is thought, that it was in consequence of the advice he gave to the Prince of Orange, that the Low Countries rebelled against Spain, maintained the war ten years, and formed the plan of a republic, which in part has succeeded. It is also believed, and not without probability, that he would have made a like attempt in France. He is grievously accused in Villeroy's memoirs, vol. 4. p. 322. 340. But he always steadily denied, particularly in his last will, his ever having had any intention of attempting the person of the King. See his elogium and political designs in Brantome, vol. 3. De Thou, and the other historians.

If I sought to augment the horror universally excited by an action so barbarous * as that of the 24th of August 1572, too well known by the name of *the massacre of St Bartholomew*, I should in this place

* What M. de Sully says of the massacre ought not to be thought too severe. "An execrable action," cries Perefixe, "that never had, and I trust God, never will have its like." Pope Pius V. was so much afflicted at it, that he shed tears; but Gregory XIII. who succeeded him, ordered a public thanksgiving to God for this massacre to be offered at Rome, and sent a legate to congratulate Charles IX. and to exhort him to continue it. The following is a short account of the massacre. All the necessary measures having been taken, the ringing of the bells of St Germain l'Auxerrois, for matins, was the signal for beginning the slaughter. The Admiral de Coligny was first murdered, in the midst of his servants, by Besmes, a French gentleman, and a domestic of the Duke of Guise, and others; the Duke himself, and the Chevalier de Guise, slaying below in the court. His body was thrown out of the window. They cut off his head, and carried it to the Queen-mother, together with his box of papers; among which, 'tis said, they found the memoirs of his own times, composed by himself. After they had offered all sorts of indignities to the bleeding carcase, it was hung on the gibbet of Montfaucon, whence the Marechal de Montmorency caused it to be taken down in the night, and buried at Chantilly. The whole house of Guise had been personally animated against the Admiral, ever since the assassination of Claude Duke of Guise, by Poltrot de Meré, whom they believed to have been incited to this crime by him; and, to say the truth, the Admiral was never able to clear himself of this imputation. If this butchery (as many people are fully persuaded) was only an effect of the Guises' resentment, who advised the Queen-mother to it, with a view of revenging their own quarrel; it must be confessed, that no particular person ever drew to severe a vengeance for an offence. All the domestics of the Admiral were afterwards slain; and, at the same time, the King's emissaries began the slaughter in all quarters of the city. The most distinguished of the Calvinists who lost their lives, were, Francis de la Rochefoucault, who having been at play part of the night with the King, and finding himself seized in bed by men in masks, thought it was the King and his courtiers who came to divert themselves with him; Antony de Clermont, Marquis de Resnel, murdered by his own kinsman Lewis de Clermont of Bussy d'Amboise, with whom he had a law-suit for the marquisate of Clermont; Charles de Quelence, Baron of Pont in Bretagne, whose dead body excited the curiosity of the ladies of the court, on account of a process carried on by his wife, Catherine de Parthenay, daughter and heiress of John de Soubize; Francis Nonpar de Caumont, murdered in his bed

place expatiate upon the number, the quality, the virtues, and the talents of those who were inhumanly butchered on this horrible day, as well in Paris as in all the rest of the kingdom. I should mark at least some part of the reproaches, the ignominious treatments, and the detestable devices of cruelty, which aimed, in giving death, to inflict a thousand stabs, as sensible as death itself to the unhappy victims. I have the pieces still in my hands, that vouch the instances of the court of France with the neighbouring courts, to imitate its example against the Reformed, or at least to refuse an asylum to all these unfortunate people. But I prefer the honour of the nation to the malignant pleasure which particular persons might draw from a detail, in which they would find the names of those who forgot humanity so far, as to imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and of their proper parents. I even would, if it were possible, bury for ever the memory of a day for which the divine vengeance punished France, by six and twenty successive years of disasters, carnage, and horror. One cannot help judging after this manner, when he considers all that passed from that fatal moment till the peace of 1598. It is even with regret, that I insist upon the part which regards the prince who

betwixt his two sons; one of whom was stabbed by his side, but the other, by counterfeiting himself dead, and lying concealed under the bodies of his father and brother, escaped: Teligny, son-in-law to the Admiral; Charles de Beaumanoir de Lavardin; Antony de Marasin, Lord of Guerchy; Beaudisner, Pluvaut, Berny, Du-Briou, governor to the Marquis of Conty; Beauvais, governor to the King of Navarre, Colombières, Francourt, &c. The Count de Montgomery was pursued by the Duke of Guise as far as Montfort-L'Amaury. The King pardoned the Viscounts of Grammont and Duras, and Gamache and Bouchavannes. The three brothers of the Marechal de Montmorency were also spared, through fear that he might thereafter revenge their death. See the historians and other writers. Read also that fine description of the massacre of St Bartholomew, by M. de Voltaire, in his *Henriade*, canto 2

is the subject of these memoirs, and upon what of it concerned myself.

I had gone to bed betimes in the evening, and felt myself awakened about three hours after midnight, by the sound of all the bells, and the confused cries of the populace. My governor St Julian, with my valet de chambre, went hastily out to know the cause; and I never afterwards heard more of these two men, who, without doubt, were among the first that were sacrificed to the public fury. I continued alone in my chamber dressing myself, when, in a few moments, I saw my landlord enter, pale, and astonished. He was of the Reformed religion, and having learned what the matter was, had resolved to go to mass, to save his life, and preserve his house from being pillaged. He came to persuade me to do the same, and to take me with him. I did not think proper to follow him, but resolved to try if I could gain the college of Burgundy, where I studied, notwithstanding the distance it was from the house where I lodged, which made the attempt very perilous. I put on my scholar's robe, and taking a large prayer-book under my arm, I went down. Upon entering the street, I was seized with horror at the sight of the furies, who rushed from all parts, and burst open the houses, bawling out, "Slaughter, slaughter, massacre the Huguenots." And the blood which I saw shed before my eyes redoubled my terror. I fell into the midst of a body of guards: they stopped me, questioned me, and were beginning to use me ill, when, happily for me, the book that I carried was perceived, and served me for a passport. Twice after this I fell into the same danger, from which I extricated myself with the same happiness. At last I arrived at the college of Burgundy, where a danger far greater than any I had yet met with, awaited me. The porter having twice refused me entrance,

I remained in the midst of the street, at the mercy of the furies, whose numbers increased every moment, and who were evidently in quest of their prey, when I bethought myself of calling for the principal of the college, La-Faye, a good man, who loved me tenderly. The porter, gained by some small pieces of money which I put into his hand, did not fail to make him come. This honest man made me go into his chamber, where two inhuman priests, whom I heard make mention of the Sicilian vespers *, wanted to force me from him, that they might cut me in pieces, saying, the order was, to slaughter to the very infants at the breast. All that he could do was, to conduct me secretly to a remote closet, where he locked me up. I was there confined three days, uncertain of my destiny, receiving succour only from a domestic belonging to this charitable man, who brought me from time to time something to preserve my life.

At the end of that term, the prohibition for murdering and pillaging any more of the Protestants being published, I was taken from my cell; and immediately after, I saw Ferriere and La-Vieville, two soldiers of the guard, who were my father's creatures, enter the college. They came to know what had become of me, and were armed, without doubt, to rescue me by force where-ever they should find me. They gave my father a relation of my adventure; and eight days after, I received a letter from him, in which he acquainted me how greatly he had been alarmed on my account, but advised me however to continue in Paris, which the Prince my master was not at liberty to abandon: only not to expose myself to an evident danger, I should resolve to do what the Prince himself had

* In the year 1282, the Sicilians murdered all the French in the island. The bell for vespers was the signal.

done, meaning that I ought to go to mass. In effect, the King of Navarre had found no other means to save his life. He was awaked, with the Prince of Condé, two hours before day, by a multitude of soldiers, who rushed boldly into the chamber, in the Louvre, where they lay, and insolently commanded them to dress themselves, and attend the King. They were forbid expressly to take their swords; and as they went out, they saw several of their gentlemen* massacred disrespectfully before their eyes. Charles waited for them, and received them with a visage and eyes in which fury was painted: he ordered them, with the oaths and blasphemies which were familiar to him, to quit a religion that had been only taken up, he said, to serve as a pretext for their rebellion. The condition to which these princes† were reduced, could not hinder them from discovering that they should obey him with pain: so that the wrath of the King became immoderate. He told them, in an imperious and furious tone, "That he would no longer be contradicted in his sentiments by his subjects; that they, by their example, should teach others to revere him as the image of God, and cease to be enemies to the images of his mother."

* James de Segur, Baron of Pardaillan, a Gascon; Armand de Clermont, Baron of Piles, a Perigordin, &c. Gaston de Lewis, Lord of Leyran, took refuge under the Queen of Navarre's bed, who saved his life. Some persons were sent to Châtillon, to seize Francis de Châtillon, the Admiral's son, and Guy de Laval, D'Andelot's son; but they both escaped, and fled to Geneva. Armand de Gontault de Biron was saved by fortifying himself in the arsenal.

† As Henry went to the King, Catherine gave orders that they should lead him under the vaults, and make him pass through the guards drawn up in files on each side, in menacing postures. He started through fear, and recoiled two or three steps back; when immediately Nançai-la-Châtre, captain of the life-guards, removed his apprehensions, by swearing they should do him no hurt. Henry, though he gave but little credit to his words, was obliged to go on amidst the carabines and halberts. *Prefixe.*

He

He ended by declaring, that if they did not go that moment to mass, he was forthwith to give orders to treat them as criminals guilty of treason against divine and human majesty. The manner in which these words were pronounced, not permitting them to doubt but that they were sincere, they bended under violence, and did what was exacted. Henry was even obliged to send an edict into his dominions, by which the exercise of any other religion but the Romish was forbidden. Though this submission secured his life, in other respects he fared for it but little the better. He was subjected to a thousand caprices and a thousand insults from the court; at times free, oftener closely confined, and treated as a criminal. Sometimes his domestics were permitted to see and to serve him, then all on a sudden we would be prohibited to appear.

At such times I employed my leisure as usefully as possible. I was no longer at liberty from this time forth for learned languages, or whatever is called studies. This application, which my father had always strongly recommended to me, became impossible when once I approached the court. It was with regret I parted with an excellent preceptor, to whose care my father had intrusted my education: he himself perceiving he could be no longer useful, requested to retire. From his hands I passed into those of one called *Chrétien*, whom the King of Navarre kept in his train, and enjoined to teach me mathematics and history; two sciences which soon consoled me for those I renounced, because I felt that inclination for them, which I have ever since preserved: the rest of my time was employed in learning to write and read well, and in forming myself to exercises proper to give gracefulness to the body. It was in these principles, joining still a greater attention to form the manners, that the method of educating youth consisted, which was known

known to be peculiar to the King of Navarre, because he himself had been brought up in that manner. I followed it till I was sixteen years of age, when the conjuncture of the times throwing us, both him and me, into the tumult of arms, without almost the hope of coming out of it, these exercises necessarily gave place to such as related solely to war, which (renouncing all others) I began with that of the arquebuse. All that a young man can then do, is to improve his heart by what he is obliged to with-hold from his understanding: for even amidst the hurry and din of arms, there are not wanting, to him who knows to look them out, excellent schools of virtue and politeness. But unhappy, and even all his life, is he, who being engaged in a profession so fatal to youth, is deficient in strength or inclination to resist bad examples. Though he should have the good fortune to preserve himself from all shameful vice, how shall he instruct and fortify himself in the principles that wisdom dictates alike to the private man and the prince; that virtue be so effectually wrought into habit by practice, that no virtuous action can ever be found painful; and that when reduced to the necessity of saving all by a crime, or of losing all by a good action, the heart may be even a stranger to the interior struggles of duty and inclination?

It was not long before Charles felt violent remorse for the barbarous action to which they had forced him to lend his name and authority. From the evening of the 24th of August, he was observed to groan involuntarily at the recital of a thousand strokes of cruelty, which every one made a merit of in his presence. Of all those who were about the person of this prince, none had so great a share of his confidence as Ambrose Paré. This man, who was only his surgeon, had contracted with him so great a familiarity, though he was a Huguenot,

not, that, on the day of the massacre, this prince having said, that it was at that hour that all the world must become Catholic ; Paré replied without emotion, “ By the light of God, Sire, I cannot believe but you remember to have promised never to command me four things, namely, to enter into my mother’s womb, to be present in a day of battle, to quit your service, or to go to mass.” The King took him aside, and opened himself to him upon the trouble with which he felt himself agitated. “ Ambrose,” said he to him, “ I know not what has befallen me these two or three days past, but I feel my mind and body all as much disordered, as if I had a fever. I think at every moment, as well when awake as asleep, that these massacred bodies present themselves to me, hideous faces, and covered with blood. I wish from my heart, that the infirm and the innocent had not been taken in.” The order which was published the day following to discontinue the slaughter, was the fruit of this conversation.

The King even believed, that his honour was concerned to disavow all publicly, as he did by the letters-patent which he sent into the provinces. He there threw all upon the Guises, and would have had the massacre pass for an effect of their hatred against the Admiral. The particular letters which he wrote on this subject to England, Germany, Switzerland, and other neighbouring states, were conceived in the same terms.

Doubtless it was the Queen-mother and her council that made the King comprehend the consequence of so formal a disavowal : for, at the end of eight days, his sentiments and language were so greatly changed, that he went to hold his bed of justice in the parliament, to order other letters-patent to be registered ; the contents of which were, that nothing

thing was done on the 24th of August but by his express order *, and to punish the Huguenots ; to each of whom, I mean the principals, a capital crime was imputed, in order, if possible, to give the name and colour of an execution of justice to a detestable butchery. These letters were addressed to the governors of provinces, with an order to publish them, and to pursue the rest of the pretended criminals. I ought here to make honourable mention of the Counts de Tende, and de Charny ; of Mess. de Mandelot, de Gordes, de Saint-Heran, and de Carouge, who openly refused to execute any such order in their governments. The Viscount d'Ortez, governor of Bayonne, had resolution enough to answer Charles, who had wrote him with his own hand, " That on this " point he must not expect any obedience †."

The

* Nothing is more certain, than that, during the massacre, he was seen with a carabine in his hand, which, 'tis said, he fired upon the Calvinists that were flying. The last Marechal de Tésé was, in his youth, acquainted with an old man of ninety years of age, who had been page to Charles IX. and often told him, that he himself had loaded that carabine. It is also true, that this prince went with his court to view the body of the Admiral, which hung by the feet with a chain of iron to the gallows of Montfaucon ; and one of his courtiers observing it smelt ill, Charles replied, as Vitellius had done before him, " The body of a dead enemy always smells well." *Voltaire's Henriade*, p. 32. & 37.

† Claude de Savoy, Count of Tende, saved the lives of all the Protestants in Dauphiné. When he received the King's letter, by which he was directed to destroy them, he said, That could not be his Majesty's order. — Eleonor de Chabot, Count of Charny, Lieutenant-General in Burgundy. There was only one Calvinist murdered at Dijon. — Francis de Mandelot, governor of Lyon : he was resolved to save the Reformed ; who, nevertheless, were all massacred in the prisons where he had put them for security. M. de Thou says, he only feigned ignorance of this barbarity. — Bertrand de Simiane, Lord of Gordes, a man greatly esteemed. — N. de S. Heran de Montmorin, governor of Auvergne : he positively refused to obey, unless the King was present in person. — Tanne-guy Le-Veneur, Lieutenant-General in Normandy, a man full of probity and humanity : he did all that he could to preserve the Pro-

The number of Protestants massacred during eight days, in all the kingdom, amounted to 70,000. This crushing blow conveyed such a sensible terror into the party, that it believed itself extinct, and talked no longer but of submitting, or flying into foreign countries. A vigorous and unexpected stroke broke yet once this resolution. Renier *, a gentleman of the Reformed religion, having, by a kind of miracle, escaped out of the hands of the Lord de Vezins, his most cruel enemy, saved himself, with the Viscount de Gourdon, and about eighty horse, and came to Montauban. He found this city under such a consternation, and so little in a condition to defend itself against the troops of Montluc, which approached, that, daring to advise the inhabitants to hold out, he himself run the risk of being delivered up to Montluc ; which obliged him to leave Montauban precipitately. This little troop fell in with a party of 450 horse, belonging to the army of Montluc, and, seeking to die gloriously, performed such prodigious acts of valour, that they cut in pieces the whole party. Renier returned to Montauban with the good news ; he was now obeyed, and they shut the gates upon Montluc. This resistance, and the resolution of Montauban, being communicated from one to another, thirty towns followed its example, and conducted themselves in a manner that the Protestants (beyond

testants at Rouen ; but he was not master of it. — N. Viscount d'Ortez, governor of all that frontier. See his answer to the King. " Sire, I have communicated your Majesty's orders to your faithful inhabitants, and to the troops in the garrison : I found there good citizens, and brave soldiers, but not one executioner." *De Thou, lib. 52. & 53. D'Aubigné, vol. 2. book 1. &c.*

* There is an error in the Memoirs of Sully in this place. It was Vezins himself, a man of great honesty, but of harsh manners, that saved the life of Renier, whose enemy he had a long time been, and still continued to be, notwithstanding this action. See this remarkable history in M. de Thou, book 52.

their

their most aspiring hopes) obliged the Catholics to keep themselves on the defensive.

The latter had at first turned all their forces against Rochelle and Sancerre, which, taking advantage of the general fear, they invested. These enterprises did not succeed. Sancerre, after having suffered all the horrors of a famine, of which no history can furnish us with examples, at last made a sort of treaty with the besiegers. For Rochelle, it frustrated all the efforts of the Duke of Anjou*, who had come to besiege it in person; and the nomination to the throne of Poland happened very seasonably to save the honour of this prince. By another treaty, in which Nîmes and Montauban were comprehended, Rochelle preserved all its rights; and these were the only cities which kept entire the advantages of the last edicts.

Time, moreover, produced other conjunctures favourable to the Calvinists. The Queen-mother had nothing of real tenderness for any of her children, excepting only the Duke of Anjou. The departure of this prince for Poland caused her as much of affliction, as it gave of joy to his two brothers, K. Charles and the Duke of Alençon. This last, by his brother's removal, becoming Duke of Anjou, began to form great expectations of the crown of France, when he saw that the tender health of Charles, who had no children, was at last changed into a mortal distemper. The opposition

* The Marechal de Montluc, in his Commentaries, finds great fault with the conduct of this siege; that they did not send troops enow, carried on the assaults improperly, hazarded too much, and suffered provisions to be brought into the place by sea; however, he says, it would have been taken at last. He advised the Queen-mother, from the time she went to Bayonne, to take possession of this city. It would have saved France both men and money had this advice been followed. See a relation of the sieges of Rochelle and Sancerre, in D'Aubigné, vol. 2. book 1. La Popeliniere, book 33. and Matthieu, vol. 1. p. 340. and other historians.

he thought he had reason to apprehend the Queen-mother would make to his design, totally alienated him from her. This princess, by placing her confidence in a small number of foreigners of low extraction, that governed her finances, had made the greatest part of the nobility almost as discontented as the Duke of Alençon. He underhand fomented their revolt, and persuaded them to avail themselves of the assistance of the Protestants, in whose disgrace they partook. To ward off this blow, and at once to satisfy the Duke of Anjou, and her tenderness for the King of Poland, she began from that moment to think in earnest of marrying the first of these princes with the Queen of England, and of procuring for him the sovereignty of the Low Countries : but his discontentment had already produced its effect.

Charles, from another motive, joined in his brother's resentment against the Queen their mother. The disease with which he found himself attacked, began at Vitry, whither he had accompanied the King of Poland, in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to taste the pleasure of seeing him leave his kingdom. The condition to which he soon saw himself reduced, created a thousand suspicions against Catherine in his mind ; so that, uniting his interest with the Reformed, he began to shew them a great deal of good-will. It principally appeared in his permitting them, notwithstanding the opposition of the Queen-mother, to send deputies to propose their grievances and their demands at court. These deputies meeting with others, who came on the part of the Catholic provinces, that had been prevailed upon by the discontented lords to demand a suppression of certain new taxes, and a diminution for ten years of the old, they joined each other. The writ which containd their demands, was not signed indeed but by four or
five

five gentlemen; the terms, however, in which it was conceived manifesting unshaken firmness in a party that seemed to derive new strength even from its losses, the Queen-mother conceived a violent spite. The King now refused her his authority, and all she could do was to use delays, till the death of this prince, which she well foresaw was not far distant. The Reformed penetrated into her intention, and, that they might not be prevented, appeared suddenly in arms. This was called the *insurrection of Shrove Tuesday*, because they possessed themselves of several towns on that day*. Montgomery† returned from England to Normandy, where he fortified himself. The Queen-mother, and the whole court, was then at St Germain-en-Laye. She thought, at least, to take such measures, that the princes should not escape her. But the attempts that were every day made to get them out of her power, did not a little imbarraß them‡. Guitry and Buhy came one day to St Germain in arms, and thought to have carried them off. The alarm was very great; but the conspirators not having well secured their blow, Catherine had time to fly with the princes to Paris; where she caused behead Coconnas and La-Mole§, the contrivers of the plot, and imprison the Marechals de Montmorency and de Cossé. After this she placed guards about the King of Navarre and the Duke of Anjou. She sent also soldiers to Amiens to arrest and fetch the Prince

* Fontenay, Lusignan, Melle, Pons, Tonnay-Charente, Talmont, Rochefort, Oriol, Livron, Orange, and other places in Poitou, Languedoc, Dauphiné, &c.

† Gabriel, Count of Montgomery, the same that wounded Henry II.

‡ See an account of this enterprize in the life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, book i. p. 26.

§ La-Mole and Coconnas were beloved by two great princesses, [the Queen of Navarre and the Duchess of Nevers]. Love and jealousy brought them both to destruction. *Mem. of Nev. vol. i. p. 75.*

of Condé, who was there narrowly watched. He got notice, disguised himself, and, deceiving his spies, fled happily a third time into Germany, where, upon his arrival, he was declared generalissimo of the troops of the religion in France.

The Queen-mother lost no time in marching all her forces against the Huguenots, divided into three armies. Matignon led the first into Normandy, where Montgomery, having only two or three inconsiderable places * in his possession, was soon defeated, and obliged to deliver himself up into the hands of this marechal, who sent him to Paris, where he was beheaded. The second, under the Duke de Montpensier, went to invest Fontenay, and afterwards Lusignan, which he took, notwithstanding the noble defence made by the Viscount de Rohan. The Prince-Dauphin, who commanded the third, took likewise some small places in Dauphiné; but after sitting down before Livron, shamefully raised the siege. All was suspended, and a part of the generals recalled to court, on account of the King's death, which happened this year on the day of Pentecost. This prince died at the castle of Vincennes, in the most exquisite torments, and bathed in his blood. In this state the unhappy day of St Bartholomew was always present to his mind. He manifested, by his transports and by his tears,

* These were Carentan, Valogne, Saint-Lo, and Donfront. In this last he was taken fighting like a man in despair. D'Aubigné, who was himself a zealous Calvinist, cannot certainly be suspected of partiality upon this question relating to the pretended promise given to the Count by the Marechal. "The place," says he, "was taken, and life was promised to all but the Count, to whom artful assurances were given, that he should not be delivered into any other hands but those of the King. This I am convinced of, notwithstanding the contrary has been written. France is guilty of but too many perjuries; there is no occasion for inventing any to charge her with," &c. vol. 2. book 2. chap. 7. Montgomery submitted to his fate like a hero. De Thou, Brantôme, &c.

the regret which he felt *. The Cardinal of Lorraine † died also this year, in the Pope's territories, on the 23d of December, a day remarkable for one of the most dreadful tempests that ever was seen.

The King of Poland was informed of his brother's death in thirteen days, and the night following he stole from the court and fled. He visited by the way the Emperor Maximilian, and Charles Duke of Savoy, and took his route through Venice ‡. In all these places, they gave him counsel equally wise and conformable to his interests, to grant the Reformed peace, and the free exercise of their religion : but so little did he profit by it, that he broke, immediately upon his arrival in France, the

* He sent for the King of Navarre, in whom only he acknowledged to have found faith and honour, and most affectionately recommended to him his wife and daughter. *Prefixe*. At his death he said, he was well pleased he had left no children, who would have been too young to govern the state in such troublesome times. Montluc, De Thou, and almost all the historians, agree, that if he had lived, he would have been a very great king. He had a large share of courage, prudence, eloquence, penetration, œconomy, and sobriety : he loved polite literature and learned men ; but he was choleric and a great swearer. He was no more than twenty-five years of age when he died. Many contusions were found in his body. *De Thou*. However, there were no proofs found of his being poisoned, as the author of the Legend of Claude Duke of Guise says he was. His death was occasioned by violent exercises, to which he was very much addicted, and a great quantity of bile, that often made his eyes look quite yellow. His stature was tall, but he was not straight, his shoulders were bent, his legs thin and weak, his complexion pale, his eyes ghastly, and his countenance fierce. See Matthieu, vol. 1. book 6. in fin. and the life of this prince written in Latin by Papire Masson.

† Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, Archbishop of Rheims. See his character in Brantome's memoirs, book 3. He died, says he, at Avignon by poison, if we may give credit to the legend of St Nicaise, p. 138. and most piously, according to Matthieu, who wrote his eulogium, vol. 1. book 7. p. 407.

‡ The reader may consult Matthieu, vol. 1. at the beginning of book 7. upon the departure of Henry III. of Poland, and the particulars of his journey.

truce that had been granted them for three months, and changed it, at the solicitation of Catherine, into a declaration of war against the whole Protestant party ; to which a great number of Catholics had lately joined themselves, out of affection to the Marechal de Damville, irritated by the imprisonment of his brother.

The King went in person to lay siege for a second time to Livron, which he was likewise obliged to raise ; and brought nothing away with him, but the shame of finding himself insulted from the top of the walls by the women, and even by the very children, who heaped also upon the Queen-mother reproaches the most satirical and the most offensive. From this moment he began to shew himself so prodigiously different from what he had been when Duke of Anjou, that it may be said, his shameful flight to Avignon was the epocha of his ignominy, of the misfortunes of his kingdom, and of his own. In his journey to Rheims, whither he went immediately after to be consecrated, he became amorous of one of the daughters of the Count de Vaudemont *, and married her.

It was a happiness for him, that the Duke of Anjou was all this time closely confined : but after Henry's coronation, this prince, who again quitted his name to take that of *Monfieur*, enjoyed, as well as the King of Navarre, a little more liberty, which was retrenched or augmented according to the news that were received of their correspondence with the enemies of the Queen-mother †. Another care of Catherine was to disunite these two princes.

This

* Louisa of Lorraine, daughter of Nicolas, Duke of Mercœur, Count of Vaudemont. Matthieu gives this princess great praises for her virtue and affection to her husband. *Vcl. 2. book 3. p. 438.*

† Henry III. hated Monsieur, on account of his having, as he supposed, attempted to poison him. He endeavoured to engage the King of Navarre to kill this prince, but he received the proposal with horror.

This she effected, by promising each of them separately the post of Lieutenant-General of the armies of France, and by employing the means which so seldom failed to succeed with her, I would say, intrigues of gallantry, and rivalships. She could not manage so well, but Monsieur escaped at last: he deceived his guards, and fled in disguise the 17th of September at night. He no sooner gained Dreux, than he saw himself attended by a numerous court, and at the head of a powerful party.

The Prince of Condé had laboured so effectually in Germany, that Prince Casimir was ready to enter France with a strong army.

Catherine had recourse to another game. She endeavoured to regain Monsieur by the most specious offers; she pursued him from city to city, always attended by a retinue of fine ladies, on whom she reckoned still more. In a word, * she managed so well, that he fell at last into the snare she laid for him.

The King of Navarre, who had never suspected the trap of the lieutenant-generalship, imagined she could no longer fail him, and rejoiced at first to be fairly rid of Monsieur, whom he always regarded as his rival. The Ladies de Carnavalet and de Sauves drew him out of his error. They made him comprehend, that if either of the two could pretend to this fine employment, it was Monsieur, who could make it the price of his reconciliation; but that, in reality, Catherine deceived them both, and as

horror. Henry III. being ill with a disorder in his ear, Henry IV. said one day to the Duke of Guise, whom he loved, "Our man is very ill." The Duke answered the first time, "It will be no thing." The second, "We must think of it." And the third he said to him, "I understand you, Sir;" and striking the hilt of his sword, "See, Sir," added he, "what is at your service." *Matthieu, vol. I. book 7. p. 418.*

* They conferred together at Champigny-sur-Vade, a house belonging to the Duke of Montpensier, upon the confines of Touraine.

for

for him, he must look for nothing but a captivity still more rigorous. This prince opened his eyes, and applying himself wholly to recover his liberty, he found the means one day of February, when he was hunting near Senlis *. Having knowingly dispersed his guards, he instantly passed the Seine at Poissy, gained Chateau-Neuf in Timerais, which belonged to him, where he took up some money of his farmers, and, followed only by thirty horse, arrived at Alençon, which the Lord de Hertra had seized in his name. There he had a conference with Monsieur and the Prince of Condé, who agreed to unite all their forces. From Alençon the King of Navarre went to Tours; where he was no sooner arrived, than he publicly resumed the exercise of the Protestant religion. I was one of those who accompanied this prince in his flight, and in all this journey. He sent me from Tours with Fervagues, to demand the Princess his sister of the court of France. She was delivered to us; and the second day after, this princess also resuming her religion, heard sermon at Chateaudun, and joined the King, who waited for her at Parthenay.

The three princes, after the junction of their troops, found themselves at the head of above 50,000 † effective men, and made Catherine tremble in her turn. All seemed to announce a most bloody war. I threw myself into the infantry as a simple voluntier, waiting the occasion of an employment more suitable. I made my trial of arms in the neighbourhood of Tours, where there were several skirmishes between the detachments of the different parties. The King of Navarre hearing that my behaviour had more of temerity than courage in it, ordered me to be called, and said to me, "Rosny,

* See this detail in D'Aubigné, vol. 2. chap. 18. Matthieu, vol. 1. book 7. p. 420. &c.

† According to others, 35,000 only.

“ it is not here that I would have you hazard your
 “ life. I commend your courage, but I desire
 “ you should employ it on a better occasion.”
 This occasion was not so near as we all believed,
 because Catherine, not finding herself the strongest,
 had recourse to her ordinary management. She
 talked of peace ; she offered more than we thought
 we could demand ; promises cost this artful princess
 nothing. In a word, she had the address to make
 the princes lay down their arms, and peace was
 concluded and signed three months after. This
 was called *Monsieur's peace* * ; for, besides that
 Catherine's principal view in making it was to gain
 this prince, he was so greatly the dupe of her fi-
 nesse, that at last he wished for it, and solicited it
 more ardently than any other person. It must be con-
 fessed, it was one of the most advantageous : the
 princes, however, never committed a fault more
 irreparable than when they put their hands to it.

Monsieur soon after committed a second, no less
 capital, when, contrary to his proper interest, he
 separated from the Reformed †. By this prepos-
 terous step he lost, both on the side of France and of
 England, the occasions of becoming perhaps one of
 the most powerful princes in Europe. Thus all
 turned still to the liking of the Queen-mother, who,
 in making this peace, had nothing in view but the
 disunion of her enemies.

* By the edict of sixty-three articles, passed at the convent of Beaulieu near Loches in Touraine, between the Queen-mother and the princes, the memory of the Admiral de Coligny and the other Protestant chiefs was restored, chambers of justice, composed equally of Protestants and Catholics, were granted in the principal parliaments, and several cities given for security. Monsieur procured also a large appennage for himself, and a considerable sum in money and jewels for Prince Casimir. *De Thou, D'Aubigné, &c.*

† To speak more justly, Monsieur, on this occasion, sacrificed the King of Navarre and the Huguenots to his interests, or to his politics. In the memoirs of Nevers, vol. 1. p. 90. et seqq. may be seen all the steps taken by each party on the subject of this treaty.

Henry,

Henry, seeing the peace made, retired to Rochelle, where the inhabitants, except that they offered him no canopy, paid him all the honours they could have done to the King. The Catholics in this prince's train did not meet with so gracious a reception. Caumont, afterwards Duke of Epernon, was not suffered to enter the city, nor any other whom they could convict of having imbrued his sword in the bloody slaughter of the 24th of August.

The King of Navarre staid but short while in this city. Scarce did he open his mouth to demand the accomplishment of the treaty, till he became sensible of the greatness of his fault. Catherine denied she had promised any thing to the Huguenots, who were obliged to take up arms again before the expiration of the year.

I quitted my first post, M. de Lavardin, my relation, who had a great affection for me, having made me take the ensigncy of the company he commanded. I was named to defend Périgueux, and afterwards Villeneuve, in Agenois, threatened with a siege. The King of Navarre proposed to undertake some considerable enterprises; but the occasion was lost: the greatest part of the troops upon which he had reckoned, then failed him; and the rest were in so bad a plight, that it was with difficulty he made two enterprises, the one upon Réole, the other on St Macary; in the last of which he failed. Favas, who conducted that of Réole, put me at the head of fifty soldiers, who entered it without almost any danger. I demanded the same commission of Langoiran, to whom the assault of St Macary was intrusted; he granted it to my cousin Bethune and to me: but Favas retained us in the second troop. This I mention as an instance of the first signal happiness I had in war; for the inhabitants of St Macary, having had notice of our design, deceived us so effectually, that not a man
of

of the first troop who had courage to enter, ever returned.

At the siege of Ville-Franche, in Perigord, which was afterwards carried on by Lavardin, I was exposed to a more real danger. During the assault, having mounted the wall with my colours, I was overthrown by the pikes and halberts into the ditch, where I lay sunk in the mud, and so entangled with my colours, that, without the succours of La-Trape, my valet de chambre, and some soldiers, who helped me to mount, I had infallibly perished. The city being forced while they were parleying on the walls, it was entirely pillaged. I gained a purse of 1000 crowns in gold for my part, which an old man, who was pursued by five or six soldiers, gave me to save his life. The name of Ville-Franche recalls to my memory a singular adventure that happened some time after. The inhabitants of this town having formed the design of seizing upon Montpazier, another little neighbouring town, by surprise, they chose for the execution of it the very same night which the citizens of Montpazier, knowing nothing of this, had pitched upon to make themselves masters of Ville-Franche. Chance, moreover, so ordered it, that the parties taking different ways, did not meet; all was executed with so much the less difficulty, that the walls both of the one place and the other were wholly without defence. They pillaged, they glutted themselves with booty; it was a happy world, till day appeared, and discovered their mistake. The composition was, that each should return to his own home, and that all should be put in its first state. This is an image of war as it was carried on at this time: it consisted in seizing by subtilty or assault the towns and the castles of the enemy; this occasioned, however, engagements often very bloody.

I will not dissemble, that the King of Navarre was very ill served. His army was almost equally composed of Protestants and Catholics ; and he sometimes said, that his obligations were greatest to the last, because they served him disinterestedly, and through pure attachment to his person. But it was this mixture of Catholics and Protestants that hurted his affairs. Mess. de Turenne, de Montgomery, de Guitry, de Lusignan, de Favas, de Par-
daillan, and other principal Protestants, had an invincible aversion to Mess. de Lavardin, de Miossens, de Grammont, du Duras, de Sainte-Colombe, de Roquelaure, de Bogole, de Podins, and other Catholic officers. This manifested itself, among other occasions, with respect to myself, in a quarrel I had with Frontenac. This officer having treated me as a young man, added with contempt, " that if my " nose were wrung, it would yield milk." I replied, that I found myself strong enough to draw blood from his with my sword. This quarrel made a noise ; and what was very singular, though my aggressor was a Catholic, and myself a Protestant, yet the Viscount de Turenne * promised him his assistance, and that of his Protestant friends, against me ; which M. de Lavardin being informed of, he and his Catholics offered their support to me. The hatred which the Viscount conceived against me, proceeded from my having taken the part of Langoiran, (to whom I was obliged), in a quarrel he had with that nobleman. M. de Turenne pretended, that where-ever he and Langoiran were together, the latter should receive orders from him as his general. Langoiran, who believed himself of as good a family as Turenne, made a jest of his pretensions ; and adding some strokes of raillery, spoke

* Henry de la Tour, Viscount de Turenne, afterwards Duke of Bouillon.

of Turenne as of a bigot, who came over to the Reformed, only because Buffy* had supplanted him in the favour of Monsieur. When all was calm, I was counselled to court Turenne. I consented; but he answered my advances so ill, that I drew back, and we continued colder than before.

This animosity of party created an opposition in the counsels of the King of Navarre, which blasted a part of his designs, and in particular that upon Marmande. Lavardin having attacked it, against the advice of La-Nouë, and even that of the King, he caused several bodies, of a hundred arquebusiers each, to advance, with orders to possess themselves of the hollows and other advantageous places near the walls of this city. He gave the command of one to me, with which I came to post myself at two hundred paces distant from the place. I was scarce there, when I was attacked by a detachment of the besieged three times superior to mine. I intrenched myself, and being favoured by some houses, defended myself a long time. The King of Navarre, who saw the danger to which we were exposed, ran to us, covered only with a cuirass, fought the whole day, and gave us all time to seize these posts; but they were of little use to us, as we had not men enow to surround the city on all sides; and the King of Navarre would have had the chagrin, of not having only sat down before it, but shamefully of raising the siege, had not the arrival of the Marechal de Biron, with propositions of accommodation, furnished him with an honourable pretext for withdrawing his troops.

A truce only could be agreed upon; during which the King of Navarre went to Bearn, to see the Prin-

* Lewis de Clermont de Buffy-d'Amboise, celebrated for his valour and personal accomplishments. In an affair of gallantry he had some time after with the Lady de Montforeau, he was killed by her husband and his domestics.

cess his sister, or rather the young Tignonville *, with whom he was in love. He permitted me to accompany him ; and giving back my ensigncy to M. de Lavardin, who bestowed it upon young Bethune, my cousin, I quitted my equipage of war, and took one more conformable to the character in which I was to appear. My œconomy during three or four years, joined to my military profits, made my finances so considerable, that I saw myself now in a condition to entertain several gentlemen in my pay, with whom I attached myself solely to the person of the King. As I had no inclination to descend from this station, I established such regular order in my domestic affairs, and in my company, that the King of Navarre, attentive to the conduct of his lowest officers, confessed to me afterwards, that I owed the greater part of the esteem with which he honoured me, to the discreet œconomy he observed in this arrangement. It was my youth only that could make it extraordinary ; but I was early sensible of what advantage it is, to settle order within a family. This disposition, in my opinion, forms a very advantageous prejudice, either to a soldier or to a statesman.

During our stay at Bearn, nothing was thought of but rejoicings and gallantry. The taste which Madame, the King's sister, had for these diversions, proved an inexhaustible source of them to us. Of this princess I learned the trade of a courtier, with which I was greatly unacquainted. She had the goodness to put me in all her parties ; and I remember, she would kindly teach me herself the steps of a dance in a ballet that was performed with a great deal of magnificence.

* This young lady was daughter to Madam de Tignonville, governess to Madame the King of Navarre's sister. She was ordinarily called in this court *Mademoiselle Navarre*. She afterwards married the Baron of Pangeas.

The truce was now almost expired, and the King of Navarre, who had been informed that the city of Eause, excited by the mutiniers, had refused entrance to a garrison he sent thither, ordered us to come, with our arms concealed under our hunting-habits, to a certain part of the country, where he waited for us himself. He arrived at the gates of this city before they could be advertised of his march, and entered it without obstacle, at the head of fifteen or sixteen, who had followed him closer than the rest of the troop. The mutiniers perceiving this, called out to have the draw bridge instantly let down ; which was accordingly done, and fell almost upon the buttocks of my horse and Bethune's, so that we were separated from the body, which remained without the city. The rebels at the same time rung the alarm-bell, and arming hastily, a troop of fifty soldiers came thundering upon us. Among these we distinguished three or four voices, which cried, " Aim at the scarlet cloak, and the white plume, for it is the King of Navarre." " My friends, my companions," said this prince, turning towards us, " it is here that you must shew courage and resolution, for on this our safety depends : follow me then, and do as I do, without firing your pistols, which cannot carry." As he ended these words, he marched fiercely up to the mutiniers with his pistol in his hand. They could not sustain the shock, and were instantly dispersed. Three or four small bodies of men presented themselves afterwards, and these we drove before us in the same manner. But the enemies drawing together, to the number of 200, and our forces being greatly diminished, the danger became extreme. The King retired to a gate, which facilitated his defence, and there he kept firm. He had the presence of mind to order two of us to mount on the belfrey, and make a sign to our companions, who

continued in the field, to hasten and force the gate. This they performed with the less difficulty, as happily the bridge had not been drawn up.

Those of the citizens who were well affected to the King, but had been obliged to submit to the seditions, seeing the soldiers ready to enter the city, attacked in their turn the rebels behind. They defended themselves resolutely, till the gate being forced, the city was filled with our troops. All would have been put to the sword, and even the city abandoned to pillage, had not the principal inhabitants, with their consuls at their head, thrown themselves at the feet of the King; who suffered himself to be softened, and contented himself, for all the punishment, with ordering four of them to be hanged who had fired at the white plume.

The King of Navarre left * Berhune governor in Eause, and advanced hastily towards Mirande, upon the advice which he received that St Crieg, a Catholic gentleman of his party, had possessed himself of the city; but not having men enow to keep it, had been obliged to withdraw into the tower, where he was besieged, and very warmly pressed by the citizens and garrison of the place. Notwithstanding the King marched with all possible diligence, he could not prevent the misfortune of this officer, who had just been taken, and burnt with all his troop, when the King of Navarre presented himself before Mirande. The inhabitants, who thought to draw him into the same snare, took care to conceal what had happened, and made the trumpets sound, as if St Crieg was rejoicing for the assistance they brought him; when a Huguenot soldier in the city, perceiving the danger into which the King of Navarre was going to precipitate himself, and in which we must infallibly have perished with him, through

* See all these little military expeditions in D'Aubigne, book 2.

the great superiority of the enemies numbers, came over the wall, to advertise us of the snare that was laid for us. The King after this thought of nothing but retreating; but as he was very far advanced, the inhabitants of Mirande, who perceived the moment that their design was prevented, sallied out, and attacked him in his retreat. We found ourselves, young Bethune and I, engaged so forwardly, that we were enveloped. We therefore fought like desperate men, who were resolved to sell their lives dearly: but we must have yielded, extreme lassitude hardly permitting us to support our arms; when, happily for us, Lusignan and the elder Bethune, whom the King of Navarre had sent to our assistance, charged so rudely, that our assailants gave back, and afforded us the means of retreating. The Sieur d'Yvetot, a gentleman of Normandy, and La-Trape, my valet de chambre, were of great service to me upon this occasion.

The King of Navarre, seeing the day declining, gave orders to cease fighting, and retired to Jegun; where, two or three days after, the royal troops, with the Marechal de Villars at their head, appeared in arms, drawn thither by the rumour of the attack upon Mirande. It had been temerity to attack them; therefore we kept intrenched, and endeavoured only to engage them to force us: but this they did not dare to attempt. The two armies continued in view of each other till night. A combat of six against six was proposed by Lavardin and La Devêse; but while we disputed upon whom the lot should fall, the King on the one side, and the Marquis de Villars on the other, drew off their troops as the night was approaching.

Some time after, the King of Navarre going from Leictoure to Montauban, commanded the Count de Meilles and me, with five and twenty horse, to fall on a body of musketeers, which the inhabitants

inhabitants of Beaumont had posted in the vineyards and hollow places in our passage. We drove them before us to the very gates of the city, from whence about 100 soldiers came out to their assistance ; one part of which remained upon the place, and the other drowned themselves in the ditches. The King, who saw the rampart begin to be covered with soldiers, did not think proper to go farther, and continued his route.

At his return, he wanted to avoid passing under the walls of this city, and took a lower road, by a place, which, if I remember, was called *St Nicholas*, near Mas de Verdun. Scarce had we marched a league, when we heard the noise of drums, and discovered a party of 300 musketeers, marching in bad order enough under five ensigns. A council was held : some were of opinion that we should attack the enemy, without any regard to the superiority of their numbers ; others dissuaded it. The King of Navarre, desiring only to try them, ordered fifty horse to advance ; and in the mean time we drew up in a line, with our domestics behind us ; so that we presented a front to the enemy, which concealed the smallness of our numbers. The shining of our armour imposed upon them : they fled across the woods, where we pursued them ; till meeting with a church, they there barricaded themselves.

This church was large, strong, and furnished with provisions, being the ordinary retreat of the peasants, a great number of whom were in it at that time. The King of Navarre undertook to force it, and sent to Montauban, Leictoure, and other neighbouring towns, for workmen and soldiers ; not doubting but Beaumont, Mirande, and other towns of the Catholic party, would send powerful succours to the besieged, if they got time. Mean while we endeavoured, with the assistance of our servants, to
undermine

undermine the church. The choir fell to my share. In twelve hours I made an opening, though the wall was very thick, and of a stone excessively hard. Afterwards, by means of a scaffold raised over this gap, I threw a quantity of grenadoes into the church. The besieged wanted water, and kneaded their meal with wine; but what incommoded them still more, was, that they had neither surgeons, linen, nor remedies for the wounds that were given them by the grenadoes, which now began to be thrown from all quarters. They capitulated therefore, upon seeing a powerful reinforcement which had arrived from Montauban to the King of Navarre. This prince contented himself with ordering seven or eight of the most mutinous to be hanged; but he was obliged to abandon them all to the fury of the inhabitants of Montauban, who forced them out of our hands, and put them to the sword without mercy. We learned the motive that animated them, from the reproaches they made to these wicked wretches, of having been concerned in a most villanous debauch, the carrying off six married women and virgins, whom, after ravishing them, they had butchered, by filling them with gunpowder, and setting it on fire. A horrible excess of brutality and of cruelty!

The states, which were then held at Blois, deputed the Archbishop of Vienne*, and the Duke of Montpensier and Richelieu, to the King of Navarre. This prince sent Bethune and me as far as Bergerac, to receive them. They were commissioned to

* The three deputies whom the states sent to the King of Navarre, were Petre de Villars, Archbishop of Vienne, for the clergy; Andrew of Bourbon, Lord of Rubenpré, for the nobility; and Menager, general of the finances of Touraine, for the third state. Here, therefore, there is a fault. Consult De Thou, D'Aubigné, &c. See also an account of the session of the states of Blois, in Matthieu, vol. 1. book 7. p. 438. and in the memoirs of Nevers, vol. 1. p. 166. et seqq.

exhort the King of Navarre to embrace the Catholic religion, which the states had declared should be alone maintained throughout the kingdom. This interview, which had produced a suspension of arms, having had no other effect, the deputies returned, and hostilities recommenced.

Some attempts were made upon Castel-Jaloux and Nerac, by the Admiral de Villars *; but he found over all the King of Navarre, who disconcerted his designs. This prince exposed himself as the meanest soldier, and performed before Nerac an act of extreme hardiness; when a body of horse being detached on purpose to surprise him, he repulsed them almost alone. Our prayers were not capable to engage him to take more care of his life; and his example animated us in our turn so much, that the same day twelve or fifteen of us advanced to fire our pistols, even within reach of the Catholic army. The King of Navarre, who observed us, said to Bethune, "Go to your cousin, the Baron of Rosny; he is heedless to the last degree; fetch him off yonder, and his companions also; for the enemy seeing us retire, will no doubt charge them so fiercely, that they will be all taken or slain." I obeyed this order, and the prince, who saw my horse wounded in the shoulder, reproached me for my temerity, with a warmth which had nothing in it but what was obliging. He proposed this day a combat of four against four; but it did not take place, the Admiral having given the signal of retreat.

The stroke the most important for the King had doubtless been, to have hindered the taking of

* Honorat of Savoy, Marquis of Villars. Although he was made Admiral by the King during the Admiral de Coligny's life, he did not in reality exercise that employment till after the death of that nobleman.

Brouage, then besieged by the Duke of Maienne*. He hastened thither, leaving the Viscount de Turenne to bring his troops after him: but beside that this nobleman did not arrive soon enough to succour this city, the interview between the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé at Pons so exasperated them against each other, that the Prince of Condé wanted to fight with the Viscount de Turenne, whom he accused of being the cause of this misunderstanding. The public good suffered by this disunion. The Prince of Condé soon after openly separated from the King of Navarre.

The peace which succeeded accidents so little favourable to the Reformed, was the sole work of Henry III. who was desirous of giving this mortification to the Guises. War no longer agreed either with his inclination, which led him to a way of life, singularly diversified between devotion and voluptuousness †, nor to his designs, that tended all to humble the princes of Lorraine, become too powerful by the league. But although this peace ‡ was not even so favourable to the Huguenots as that of Monsieur, yet they observed the articles of

* Charles de Lorraine, Duke of Maienne, second son of Francis of Lorraine, Duke of Guise. He was general of the league.

† There is nothing, said Sixtus V. to Cardinal de Joyeuse, which your King has not done, and does not do, to be a monk; nor any thing which I have not done to avoid being one. He had no less than 150 valets de chambre, *ministros cubicularios*, says Busbequius, epist. 31.

‡ By the treaty that was concluded at Bergerac, between the King of Navarre and the Marechal de Biron, and the edict that followed in the latter end of September, the number of churches was diminished, the exercise of the pretended reformed religion was prohibited ten leagues round Paris, the burying-places of the Calvinists in this city taken away, the liberty of marriages revoked, the chambers of justice composed of half Catholics and half Protestants, suppressed in Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes, &c. K. Henry III. called this his treaty. It was observed faithfully by neither party. The Catholics on their side complained, that several articles were infringed by the Calvinists. *Memoirs of Nevers.*

it with more fidelity than the Catholics ; who, in the time of full peace, possessed themselves of Agen and Villeneuve, for which it was impossible to make them give satisfaction. The consequence of a peace so ill observed, was an inaction full of suspicions ; which much more resembled a long suspension of arms than a true peace. In this manner passed the remainder of this year, and a part of the following.

Whether it was, that the Queen-mother was desirous of labouring effectually to pacify the state, or that she had secret designs, which obliged her to court the King of Navarre, she quitted Paris with all her retinue, and making the tour of the provinces, had a conference with this prince at Réole and Auch. She even staid with him a long while, at several times, either at Nerac *, Coutras, Fleix, or other places ; for the year 1578, and a part of 1579, were wholly consumed in comings and goings, and reciprocal complaints of the bad execution of treaties, which were infringed on the one part and the other without much scruple.

The intercourse of two courts which yielded in nothing the one to the other on the side of gallantry, produced such an effect as might have been expected. They were wholly devoted to balls, festivals, and entertainments of gallantry. But while love became the serious business of all the courtiers, Catherine was wholly taken up about her politics : for once, however, she did not succeed. She indeed reconciled the King of Navarre to his wife, then greatly disgusted with the proceedings of her

* At Nerac, says Le Grain, the Queen-mother had several conferences with the King of Navarre, her son-in-law, in which some articles were explained, but not all : for the good lady would always keep her Spanish gennet by the bridle as much as she was able. It was here that Henry IV. fell in love with the two ladies, d'Agelle and Tossense. Some curious particulars of these conferences may be seen in Le Grain's dec. of Henry IV.

brother Henry III. towards her ; but she could never draw this prince again to Paris, nor prevail upon him by any motive to resign to her the places of security, to obtain which had been her principal view.

I should swell these memoirs considerably, were I to enter into a detail of this medley of politics and gallantry. But I acknowledge, with respect to the first, my youth, and other affairs more suitable to my age, did not permit me to enter into them. As for gallantry, besides that I have lost the remembrance of it, a frivolous detail of intrigues would, in my opinion, make a very indifferent figure here. Upon the whole, all was reduced to a desire of pleasing, and supplanting one another. I shall not, however, omit some adventures which have a reference to the war.

The Queen-mother and the King of Navarre could only agree upon a truce, which was to take place over all the kingdom, till the prince and she should separate. But whether she thought that, under favour of the war, it would be easy for her to seize several towns by surprise and artifice, or that she believed this method was more proper to accomplish her ends, she was not sorry that both parties forgot they were in peace, and treated together on the footing of war : one thing only continued agreed upon, that there should be a truce over all where the court was, and its limits ordinarily extended no farther than a league and a half, or two leagues, from the place where the Queen and the princes kept their residence. This occasioned a contrast altogether new : here they loaded each other with civilities, and conversed with the utmost familiarity ; if they met any where else, they fought most desperately. The two courts being at Auch, upon a ball-night, notice was given to the King of Navarre, that the governor of Réole,

who was an old man, and till then a zealous Huguenot, having conceived a violent passion for one of the Queen-mother's maids of honour, had violated his duty, and delivered up the town to the Catholics. The King of Navarre, who would not long defer his revenge, privately conveyed orders to me, and to three or four others, to withdraw, and, with our arms concealed as usual under our hunting-habits, join him in the fields. As many of our people as could be got together, were of the party; and taking care that the entertainment should suffer no interruption, we left the hall, and joined the King, with whom we marched all night; and arriving early in the morning at Fleurence, the gates of which were open, seized it without any opposition. The Queen-mother, who could have sworn that the King of Navarre had lain at Auch, was much surprised next morning at the intelligence of this expedition; however, she was the first to laugh at it: "I see," said she, "this is in revenge for Réole: the King of Navarre was resolved to have nut for nut, but mine is better kernelled."

An adventure perfectly similar happened afterwards, the court being at Coutras. The King of Navarre having resolved to seize St Emilion, he sent us over night to St Foi, which was not comprehended in the truce; from whence we marched to St Emilion, with a petard in the shape of a sausage, which we fastened by two port-holes to a great tower. The bursting of this machine made a noise that was heard as far as Coutras. A breach was made in the tower wide enough to give passage to two men abreast, and by this means the town was taken. The Queen-mother was nettled, and said openly, that she could not regard this action but as a pre-meditated insult, St Emilion being within the bounds of the truce. It is certain, that the distance between Coutras and this town was such as rendered
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the case doubtful : but the King of Navarre, who knew, that, a few days before, the citizens of St Emilion had pillaged a Protestant merchant, which the Queen-mother maintained to be a lawful prize, only put her in mind of this fact, and there was no more word of the matter.

It often happened, that the two courts separated from each other, when any thing had passed which caused to either of them too great discontentment ; but the interest of pleasure, which had languished without this, soon brought them together. The Queen-mother's court was carried by the King of Navarre to Foix ; where, among other diversions, he had a mind to give them that of bear-hunting. The ladies were frightened ; this spectacle did not suit with their delicacy. Some of these animals tore the horses to pieces ; others overthrew ten Swiss, and as many fusileers ; and one of them, who had been often wounded, mounting upon a rock, threw himself headlong, with seven or eight hunters whom he held fast, and crushed to pieces.

At last the Queen-mother separated from the King of Navarre, and continuing her route through Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, where she had an interview with the Duke of Savoy, returned to Paris, leaving all things on the same footing in which she had found them ; I mean, in a peace which only more augmented diffidence and suspicions. But what she did not forget, was, to seduce from the King of Navarre a part of his Catholic officers. Lavardin, Grammont, and Duras, were of this number. Another effect of her presence was, to have imbroiled so perfectly the prince with the Viscount de Turenne, that he challenged him to a duel. Turenne went not to the place appointed, till he had first made all the submissions that were due to the quality of this prince. This combat produced nothing fatal. The Viscount de

Turenne received several wounds in a second, to which he was challenged by Duras and Rosan *. It was said at that time, that they owed the advantage they had over Turenne, upon this occasion, to an artifice scarcely allowable.

After the Queen-mother's departure, the court of Navarre came to Montauban, and from thence to Nerac, where they continued some time, uncertain whether it would not be most proper to renew the war. This court being no less voluptuous than that of France, nothing was yet thought of but pleasures and gallantry.

They no longer hesitated about taking up arms, how soon they learned that the Catholics had possessed themselves by surprise of the city of Figeac, and sat down before the castle. The Viscount of Turenne, whom the King of Navarre charged with the raising of the siege, said to me at parting, "Well, Sir, will you be of our party?" "Yes, Sir," I replied, "I shall be of your party at any time when it is for the service of the King my master, and at all times when you love me."

The Catholics, surprised at the diligence of the

* The two brothers, Durfort de Duras, and Durfort de Rosan, fought with the Viscount de Turenne, and John de Gontaut de Biron, Baron of Salignac, his second. Although the brothers were armed with coats of mail, yet the disadvantage was wholly on their side. The Viscount permitted Rosan to rise, and Salignac allowed Duras to change his sword: at the same moment nine or ten armed men fell upon the Viscount, and left him upon the place pierced with two and twenty wounds, none of which, however, proved mortal. He recovered, and generously interceded with the Queen-mother for Duras. The Marechal de Damville, called by the death of his brother *Marechal de Montmorency*, coming thither about that time, was consulted on this action; and it was his opinion, as well as that of many others, that the Viscount de Turenne was at liberty to satisfy his revenge by any means whatever, without exposing his own life. *Memoirs of the Duke of Bouillon; his life by Marsolier; De Thou. Brantome (Mem. vol. 10.)*, speaking of duels, seems to doubt whether this duel was conducted in the manner it was reported, considering the reputation the two brothers were in for courage and honour.

Reformed, abandoned Figeac. Arms being once taken up again by the Huguenots, they made above forty attempts on different places, of which three only succeeded *. These were upon Fere in Picardy, upon Montagu in Poitou, and upon Cahors. I shall speak only of this last, because it was the only one at which I was present, and because of all the attacks upon towns by petard and sap, there was none so remarkable.

Cahors † is a large and populous city, surrounded by water on three sides. Vesins ‡ was governor of it, and had under his command above 2000 men, besides 100 horse, and the citizens, whom he made also to bear arms. He was upon his guard, like a man who expected to be attacked. This we discovered by a paper found in his cabinet, on which he had wrote these few words with his own hand, "A fig for the Huguenots." The King of Navarre, whose little army was still more weakened by the absence of Chouppes, and who saw no means of opening himself a passage but by petard and sap, did not, however, despair of taking the city. He reinforced his troops with all the soldiers he could find in Montauban, Négrepelisse, St Antonin, Cajare, and Senevieres; but the whole made him only about 1500 men, with whom he left Montauban, and arrived about midnight within a quarter of a league of Cahors. It was in the month of June, an excessive heat, and violent thunder, but without rain. He ordered us to halt in a plantation of walnut-trees, where a fountain of running water ser-

* See all these expeditions particularised in D'Aubigné, vol. 2. book 4.

† The river of Lot washes its walls.

‡ The same who is mentioned in the beginning of this book. It is thought, that if he had not been slain in the attack, at the head of his people, the King of Navarre would not have made himself master of the place.

ved to quench our thirst. It was in this place that the King of Navarre settled the order of his march, and of the whole attack. Two petardiers belonging to the Viscount de Gourdon, the principal author of this enterprize, seconded by ten soldiers, the most resolute in the King's guards, marched before us, as being to open a passage into the city. They were followed by twenty foot-soldiers, and thirty horse of the King's guards likewise, conducted by St Martin, their captain; forty gentlemen, commanded by Roquelaure, and sixty soldiers of the guard, composed another body, and marched behind them. I was in this brigade. The King of Navarre, at the head of 200 men, divided into four bands, came after us. The remainder of his little army, which composed a body of about 1000 or 1200 arquebusiers, in six platoons, closed the march.

There were three gates to force; which we made haste to throw down with the petard, after that we made use of hatchets, the breaches being so low, that the first who entered could not do it but by creeping upon their bellies. At the noise of the petard, forty men armed, and about 200 arquebusiers, ran almost naked to dispute our entry: mean time the bells rung the alarm, and warned all to put themselves in a posture of defence. In a moment the houses were covered with soldiers, who threw large pieces of wood, tiles, and stones upon us, with repeated cries of "Charge, kill them." We found that it had been long determined to receive us warmly. It was necessary, therefore, at first, to sustain a shock, which lasted above a quarter of an hour, and was not yet less terrible. I was thrown to the ground by a large stone that was thrown out of a window; but I raised myself by the aid of the Sieur de la Bertichere, and La-Trape. We advanced very little, because fresh platoons every moment succeeded to those
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that we repulsed; insomuch that before we gained the great square, we had endured more than twelve battles. My cuises being loosened in the bustle, I was wounded in the left thigh. When arrived at the place, we found barricadoes, which we must demolish with infinite difficulty, all the while exposed to the continual discharge of the artillery, which they had formed into a battery.

The King of Navarre continued at the head of his troops during all these attacks: he had two pikes broken, and his armour was marked in many places by the fire and blows of the enemy. We had already performed enough to have gained a great victory; but to see all that remained to be done, one might say we had not yet begun; the city being of vast circumference, and filled with so great a number of soldiers, that, in comparison of them, we were but a handful. At every cross-way we had a new combat to sustain, and at every stone house a new escalade to make; the ground was so well defended, that the King of Navarre had occasion for all his men, and we had no time to take breath.

It will scarcely be credited, that five days and five nights passed completely in this violent exercise. During all this time, not one of us durst quit his post for a single moment, take nourishment, but with his arms in his hand, or sleep, except for a few moments leaning against the shops. With fatigue, with faintness, with the weight of our arms, and with the excessive heat, wounds conspired to deprive us of what remained of our strength. Not one of us but had his feet so scorched and full of blood, that it was impossible for us to support ourselves.

The citizens, who suffered none of our inconveniencies, and who became more and more sensible of the smallness of our numbers, far from talking of surrendering, thought of nothing but protracting
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the fight till the arrival of succours, which were said to be very near: they sent forth great cries, and animated themselves by our obstinacy. However poorly they defended themselves, they did enough to oblige us to keep upon our guard, which was to complete our misfortunes. In this extremity, the principal officers gathered about the King, and advised him to assemble as many men as possible about his person, and open to himself a retreat. They redoubled their instances upon the rumour which was spread, and which was also true, that the succours expected by the enemy were arrived at the bar, and would be so soon in the city, that he would have but just time to force the wall. But this brave prince, whom nothing could daunt or intimidate, suppressing the pain which he felt from his wounds, turned to them with a smiling countenance, and an air of intrepidity which he inspired into the weakest, and contented himself with answering, "It is pronounced above what must be-
" come of me upon this occasion. Remember ye,
" that my retreat out of this city, without having
" secured one to my party, shall be the retreat of
" my soul from my body. My honour is too much
" concerned to act otherwise. So let no one speak
" to me more but of fighting, of vanquishing, or
" of dying."

Reanimated by these words, and the example of so brave a leader, we began again to make new efforts; but, in all appearance, we had all been worsted in the end, without the arrival of Chouppes, whom the King had the precaution to send for before the attack. He apprehended the danger of the King, and made a passage into the city, with 5 or 600 foot, and 100 horse, marching over the belly of the enemies, who wanted to obstruct his passage. As soon as he joined us, we marched together to the bar, where the enemies succours were forcing

forcing their entrance. All this quarter, which held out hitherto, was forced; and when we had made ourselves masters of the parapets and towers, it was not difficult to oblige the enemies without to abandon their enterprize, and to retire: after which, the inhabitants not finding themselves the strongest, laid down their arms. The city was entirely pillaged: my good fortune made a small iron chest fall into my hands, in which I found 4000 crowns in gold. In the detail of an action so hot, so long, and so glorious for the young prince that conducted it*, I am obliged to suppress a number of circumstances, and particular actions, both of the King and his officers, which would appear almost to be fables.

The King of Navarre returned to Montauban, after having left Cabrieres† governor in Cahors. Moreover, he defeated two or three squadrons belonging to the Marechal de Biron's army, who was obliged to shut himself up in Marmande. To be more within reach, the King of Navarre took up his residence at Tonneins; from whence there followed an infinitude of little attacks, the soldiers of Marechal de Biron making inroads every day into the enemy's country. Henry one day ordered Lésignan, at the head of five and twenty gentlemen well mounted, of which number I was one, to advance even to the gates of Marmande, as if to defy them: which was very ordinary. He made us be followed by 100 musketeers, who clapped down on the shore of a rivulet not far from us; and the King, with 300 horse, and two companies of his guards, concealed himself in a wood a little distant. Our orders were to fire our pistols only,

* Other historians agree, that this attack lasted five whole days, and that Henry IV. had a great many soldiers wounded there, and only 70 slain. M. de Thou's relation of this action is a little different, but our Memoirs deserve most credit.

† Consult D'Aubigné upon these expeditions, vol. 2. book 4.

to endeavour to take any of the soldiers whom we should find without the walls, and to retire towards the body of musketeers the moment they should begin to pursue us. These orders we executed, how soon we saw ourselves ready to be attacked by 100 horse, who came out of the city. These cavaliers called to us to wait them, in a manner insulting enough. An officer of our troop, named *Quasy*, hearing himself defied by name, could not refrain from turning his bridle towards his challenger, whom he shot dead: he lost himself his horse, and regained the body of his brigade on foot, when he was attacked by all the enemy's party, irritated at the death of their comrade. We marched to his assistance, and immediately the hottest encounter ensued; during which one of our valets, seized with terror, fled, and carried the alarm to the King of Navarre, telling him, that we, and the whole party of foot, were put to the sword: A story wholly without foundation. On the contrary, after fighting a few moments, the enemy seeing the body of foot, who came out of their ambuscade to second us, fearing a surprise, and supposing that the whole army would fall upon them, withdrew into the city.

It was with great difficulty that they could restrain the courage of Henry, who would fain have fallen upon the enemy's army to revenge us, and to perish gloriously. But they made him such pressing instances to retire, that he consented to it at last, though with regret. His astonishment was great when he saw us return, and his grief still greater for having credited counsellors too timid; especially when he saw Lésignan, who complained with a good deal of bitterness for having been abandoned upon this occasion. As for me, I lost an horse, which was killed under me.

News greatly more disquieting added much to the
chagrin

chagrin of the King of Navarre. The Prince of Condé, not contented with having decoyed a part of his troops, and having openly separated from his party, had drawn several towns of Dauphiné and Languedoc into his interest, which he robbed from Henry to compose a sovereignty for himself. Aiguesmortes and Pécais he had engaged to Prince Casimir, as a security for the forces this prince had promised : and, last of all, he had lately possessed himself of Fère* in Picardy ; the loss of which the King of Navarre could not regard with an eye of indifference. This prince, whose army was already inferior to that of the Catholics, was still obliged to dismember it. He dispatched Turenne, who soon disconcerted all the projects of the Prince of Condé. As for himself, being no longer able to keep the field before the Marechal de Biron, he shut himself up in Nerac ; in which the ladies and court of Navarre then were, always brilliant, notwithstanding the bad condition of the affairs of the King.

This retreat gave still another face to the war ; it could neither be called a campaign nor a siege, but it was both together. Biron, judging the siege of this place to be an enterprise above his strength, sought only to alarm us, by surrounding it with all his troops ; and the King of Navarre, though blocked up in the city, did not however fail from time to time to shew himself open in the field. The gates of the city being kept shut by his orders, his cavalry became of no use to him ; and our only resource was to assemble in small parties, and sally out by the private doors which were kept open, to

* It was retaken immediately by the Marechal de Matignon. In the Memoirs of the league there is a letter from Q. Catherine to the Prince of Condé, in which she thanks him for having taken arms against the court.

attack the separate detachments of the royalists, sometimes under the beard of the whole army. I resumed my former condition of a private soldier, and mixing with the officers, made one in many of those bravadoes, in which there is neither honour nor glory to be acquired : they were therefore severely condemned by the King of Navarre. When he was informed one day that I was wounded and taken by a party of the enemy, notwithstanding his anger, he sent Des-Champs and Dominge to rescue me if possible ; and he expressly forbid me to go out of the city without his orders, giving me the names of rash and presumptuous, which I own I too much merited ; for it is folly and extravagance to precipitate one's self into a danger, from which one cannot escape but by a miracle. The Marechal de Biron made shew of besieging Nerac ; but all ended in a few slight skirmishes, which the ladies sometimes beheld from the ramparts. The enemies general had so little respect for them, that he ordered five or six volleys of cannon * to be made, though he expected no advantage from it.

The King of Navarre did not, however, neglect to make himself master of Monségur. Milon, one of his captains, inclosed 500 weight of powder in a saucisse, which he found means to introduce into a common shore, which ran into a ditch between the two principal gates ; the end of the saucisse, to which the fire was to be applied, remained hid in the grass. When every thing was ready for the playing off this machine, the King permitted us to go and see the effect, which was wonderful. One of the two gates was thrown into the midst of the city, and the other fifty paces forwards into the fields. The vaults were all ruined, and the wall

* A ball of a cannon battered against a gate of the city, behind which was the Queen of Navarre. At the peace, she procured the government of Guienne to be taken from this marechal.

permitting a passage to three men abreast, the city was taken. The enemy seeming determined to retake it, the King commanded me to shut myself up in it, with forty gentlemen. We thought of nothing but fortifying the place well with palisadoes and intrenchments, in the room of those the powder had demolished; and this we performed without interruption, notwithstanding the coqueluche *, a kind of current malady, with which we were greatly incommoded, and myself more than all the others. At length we put the place in a condition to have nothing to fear from the enemy. After which I returned to the King of Navarre, who, by the carresses with which he loaded me on this occasion, was desirous of teaching me to make a just distinction between military exploits that are authorised by duty, and those where one hearkens to nothing but the dictates of transport and impetuosity.

I saw with pleasure, that the heart of this prince daily declared in my favour, and that he gave to a natural inclination what he expected to grant only to the recommendation which the Queen his mother, when dying, had made of my person and of my fortune. Some slight services I did him this year, he rewarded by the charge of counsellor of Navarre, and chamberlain in ordinary, with 2000 livres of appointments. There were none at this time more considerable, and I was only nineteen years old. But the fire of youth made me commit a fault which deserved to have lost me for ever the good graces of this prince.

I supped one night with Beauvais, the son of the King of Navarre's governor, and an officer named *Usséau*, who quarrelled together, and being resel-

* This distemper seized them in the reins, the head, and particularly in the neck. Bleeding and purging were mortal in this malady. De Thou observes also, that this disease was as it were the forerunner of a plague that carried off 40,000 people in Paris. *Book 73.*

ved to fight, intreated me to facilitate the means, and to keep their design secret. Instead of going forthwith to advertise the King, whose whole attention was to hinder these combats, which a false point of honour made very common at this time, I had the imprudence to promise them both the one and the other ; and having idly essayed to reconcile them, I conducted them myself to the meadow, where each gave the other a dangerous wound. The King of Navarre, who loved Beauvais, was extremely irritated by the part I had in this affair ; and having sent to seek me, he told me with indignation, that I lorded it over the sovereign, even in his court, and that, if he did me justice, I deserved to lose my head. I might have effaced my fault by a simple avowal ; I added a second, still greater. Piqued at this prince's threatening, I answered inconsiderately, That I was neither his subject nor his vassal. I threatened, in my turn, to quit his service ; and this prince not answering my insolence but by just contempt, I was going at this moment to separate myself, and perhaps for ever, from the person of this good prince, if the princesses had not undertaken to make my peace with the King ; who listened to his friendship for me, and contented himself with making me sensible of the hainousness of my fault, by receiving me for some time with a good deal of coldness. At length, when he was convinced, that the regret which I testified to him was sincere, he resumed his former sentiments. This mark of goodness making me know how a prince so mild ought to be served, I attached myself to him more strongly than before, and resolved from that instant never to have any other master. But I saw myself removed from him for some time, by a promise imprudent enough, which I had made to the Duke of Alençon.

B O O K II.

THE Queen-mother, fertile in projects for the grandeur of her house *, and still more for her particular designs, having lost hope of marrying her youngest son to the Queen of England, had turned all her views towards Flanders, of which she undertook to make him sovereign. She had at first made many useless attempts upon the Dutch, who, believing they could appease the resentment of Spain †, by chusing a master out of the house of Austria, conferred that honour upon the Archduke Matthias, notwithstanding the powerful intrigues of Catherine. The Archduke was a weak prince, absolutely destitute of the qualities necessary to a sovereign ; especially upon this occasion, when it was so requisite to play the hero. He became contemptible, and rendered himself completely odious to the nobility, by preferring openly to all the Lords, the Prince of Orange ‡, whom he declared lieutenant-general of his armies. The Dutch, disgusted with this new master, thought of nothing more than to get rid of him. They cast their eyes

* M. de Thou, treating of this subject, says, (book 96.), that before the crown of Poland was offered to the Duke of Anjou, Catherine, who was resolved to make him a sovereign one way or other, had sent Francis de Noailles to Selim, then Grand Signior, to ask the kingdom of Algiers for this prince ; Sardinia was to be added to it, which had been obtained from Spain, in exchange for the kingdom of Navarre, which they had promised him the possession of; and as an equivalent for the claim the King of Navarre had to this kingdom, other estates in France were to be given him.

† The revolt of the United Provinces from Spain, the consequences of which will be seen in the following part of these memoirs, began by an insurrection, and a confederacy formed there in 1566, the design of which was to hinder the establishment of the inquisition in those countries. *MISS. in the King's library, vol. marked 9981.*

‡ William of Nassau, Prince of Orange.

upon Monsieur, as upon a prince capable of supporting them by himself, and by the powerful protection of France.

He was at Coutras when the deputies from the United Provinces came to make him their offer: he accepted it with joy, and only deferred his journey to the Low Countries till he could appear there with a train suitable to his birth. For this purpose, he began earnestly to solicit the lords and gentlemen of distinction in the King of Navarre's retinue. The greatest part of the Catholics attached themselves to him; and the hopes of a solid and lasting peace, with which the Queen-mother took care to amuse the Protestants, was the cause that many of those also promised to follow him.

Fervaques and La-Rochepot, both of them my relations, engaged themselves with him; and to make me of the party, they represented to me, that after the loss I had lately sustained by the death of my father, I ought to be at pains to recover the succession to the Viscount de Gand, who had disinherited me on account of my religion, and endeavour to get possession of several other estates in Flanders, to which my family could pretend, and which the protection of the new sovereign could alone procure me. To these motives they added, upon the part of Monsieur, a promise of 12,000 crowns, to furnish me with an equipage. I yielded to their solicitations, and passed my word. By reason of various conjunctures, it was a considerable time before that Monsieur could go into Flanders. At length all obstacles being removed *, and the Dutch redoubling

* By the peace concluded at Fleix, a castle upon the Dordogne, between the King of Navarre and the Duke of Anjou. The Protestants, to whom the last war had not been favourable, consented to it without difficulty. The Duke of Anjou desired it with ardor, in order to execute his designs upon the Low Countries. It was signed

redoubling their instances, this prince reminding us of our engagement, sent us orders to join him. I went to take leave of the King of Navarre, and had a long conversation with this prince upon my departure, and upon the subject of my journey. I have never since thought of this conference, without being penetrated by the sentiments of generosity and affection which he expressed for me, nor without admiring the penetration of his mind, and the justness of his conjectures. " 'Tis by this "stroke," (said he, the moment I spake of leaving him), "that we shall lose you altogether; you are "going to become a Dutchman and a Papist." I assured him that I would neither become the one nor the other, but that I must eternally reproach myself, if, for want of cultivating my relations, and to avoid a little trouble, I saw myself frustrated of large estates that might revert to me from the houses of Bethune, Melun, and Horn: that this consideration alone induced me to follow Monsieur, and only for a time; after which I swore to him, that nothing should be able to hinder me from following my inclinations, in attaching myself solely to his person; and that whenever he had the least need of me, I would quit Flanders upon his first order. The King then entertained me with the predictions that had been made him, that he should one day be King of France: and I, in my turn, informed him, that a great fortune had been foretold me. I had for a long time the weakness to give some credit to these. For the King of Navarre, who was of opinion that religion ought to inspire a contempt for those villanous prognosticators, as he called them; he had within himself an oracle greatly more certain; it was a perfect knowledge of the person and

signed in the month of November. The articles were not made known, but were believed to be of little importance. The cities given for security were to be kept by the Calvinists six years longer.

character of Monsieur, and a sagacity which almost unveiled to him futurity. "He will deceive me," said he, "if he ever fulfils the expectations that are conceived of him: he has so little courage, a heart so double and malignant, a body so ill built, so little gracefulness in his countenance, and so much awkwardness in all kinds of exercises, that I cannot persuade myself he will ever do any thing that is great." The King of Navarre had leisure to know this prince thoroughly, during the time that they were kept prisoners together. His memory at this moment recollected an infinitude of circumstances, which gave him room to conjecture, that he would infallibly miscarry in a design so noble and so hazardous. He told me, that Monsieur happened to fling himself against the pillar in running the ring; and in managing his horse, he was thrown so clumsily, that his equerry could not save him the shame of so awkward a fall, but by cutting hastily and subtilly the reins of his horse: that he succeeded no better in dancing, hunting, or any other exercise; and that, instead of acknowledging these natural defects, and of effacing them in some manner by any degree of modesty and ingenuity, he secretly hated all who were more favoured by nature than himself. The King of Navarre was in a state to bear good testimony; the preference the ladies gave him in every thing to the brother of the King, his rivalry with this prince in the favour of Madam de Sauves*, and such like court-adventures,

* She made this name well known by her gallantries. One night, says Matthieu, (vol. I. b. 7. p. 409.), when the Duke of Alençon was with her, the King of Navarre laid a snare for him, so that as he came out, he fell against something in his way, and hurt one of his eyes. The next day the King of Navarre meeting him, exclaimed, "Ah, my God! your eye! your eye! what accident has befallen you?" The Duke answered hastily, "It is nothing; a
" small

adventures, had rendered him the object of Monsieur's jealousy.

All these particularities with which he entertained me, little considerable in themselves, have ceased to appear so to me, when I reflect that all the views of the King of Navarre were perfectly justified by the event. He ended with telling me, that he well foresaw Catherine had formed a design to exterminate the Protestant party; and that he should in a little have occasion for his faithful servants: saying these words, he embraced me, and wished me a happier journey than our leader's was likely to be. I threw myself at his feet, and kissing his hand, protested that I was ready to shed the last drop of my blood in his service. I went also to pay my respects to the Queens; after which I took post for Rosny.

From hence I sent Maignan, my equerry, to Paris to buy me some horses. I have never since had any that equalled two which he brought me. One of them was a Spanish horse; he was quite black, except a white spot on his right buttock. The other was a horse of Sardinia, to whom nature had given an instinct to defend his rider; for he rolled his eyes, and sprung upon the enemy with his mouth open, never quitting him till he had thrown him to the earth.

Part of the lands belonging to Monsieur extending to the neighbourhood of Rosny, I took occasion to avail myself of the offer which this prince had made me, and demanded the remainder of a wood to make my best of. This produced a sum of 40,000 francs, with which, in fifteen days, I

"small matter surprises you." The other continuing to bemoan him, the Duke being offended, advanced, and feigning to jest, whispered in his ear, "Whoever shall say I have got it where you imagine, I will make him a liar." Sauvray and Du-Guast hindered them from fighting.

fitted

fitted out my whole troop. It was composed of eighty gentlemen and upwards, some of whom followed me disinterestedly, and others received from me a pension of 200 livres at most. With this retinue I went to join Monsieur, who waited for us in his castle of La-Fere, in Tartenois ; from whence, after some time spent in deer-hunting, we marched towards St Quentin, where all his troops were assembled.

The Prince of Parma * surrounded Cambray with his whole army, and kept it blocked up. This afforded an occasion for the bravest amongst us to signalize themselves, and every one wished to command the first party that should be sent to reconnoitre. This honour fell to me, by the disposition into which Fervaques, the quartermaster-general, who was my friend and relation, had put the army : it procured me, however, no advantage ; for I returned without having taken one prisoner, the besiegers keeping all close behind their lines, although I passed near enough to sustain several discharges. The Viscount Turenne felt a secret joy, because I had refused the offer he made to join me, if I would wait till the day after. He chose out 100 gentlemen, with whom he advanced towards Cambray, flattering himself that he should not make a fruitless attempt. The event did not answer : this fine troop had the misfortune to be defeated by 80 or 100 men of the regiment of M. de Roubais † of the house of Melun, who served in the enemy's army :

* Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma.

† Robert de Melun, Marquis of Roubais. The Viscount Turenne's design was to throw himself into Cambray. See his Memoirs, p. 311. et seqq. It is observed there, that he chose rather to surrender himself prisoner to the Prince de Robecque, general of the Spanish cavalry, than to the King of Spain : which was the cause that he was detained two years and ten months ; for Spain feared, that after Robecque had received the money for the Viscount's ransom, which was 50,000 crowns, he would quit its service.

ten or twelve of our party were made prisoners, among others Ventadour, and the Viscount Turenne himself.

Monsieur advanced, however, with an intention to give battle to the enemy's general. But he had posted himself so advantageously, that we durst not attempt to force him; and the following night he raised the blockade, and retired towards Valenciennes, without losing a single soldier, and leaving moreover the passes behind him so securely guarded, that he did not fear being overtaken. Monsieur entered Cambray, and was received with magnificence by the governor, whose name was *D'Inchy*. Chateau-Cambresis refused to surrender, and was taken by assault. Monsieur, who wanted at first to give marks of a gentleness that might conciliate affection towards him; forbid, under the severest penalties, violence against the sex who are the miserable victims of war; and fearing that these orders would not be more capable to restrain the brutality of the soldiery than the plague with which the fort was infected, he gave them the churches for an asylum, and placed guards about them. A very beautiful young girl threw herself into my arms as I was walking in the streets; and holding me fast, conjured me to guard her from some soldiers, who, she said, had concealed themselves when they perceived me. I encouraged her, and offered myself to conduct her to the first church. She told me she had been there, but that they would not receive her, because it was known that she had the plague. I became cold as marble at this declaration, and anger renewing my strength, I thrust this girl from my arms, who exposed me to death, when she had an argument to make herself be respected, which appeared to me unanswerable; and I betook myself to flight, expecting every moment to be seized with the plague.

Monsieur

Monsieur having attacked the passages of Arleux and L'Ecluse, I took some prisoners there, whom I sent back without ransom, when I understood that they belonged to the Marquis de Roubais, my cousin. Roubais, who was not ignorant of my rights to the estates of the Viscount de Gand, which he had usurped, ill received this generosity. "By heaven," said he, "these civilities are fair and good; but if he was taken, he brings his ransom with him." This misfortune which I had room to fear would really have befallen me two days after, at the attack of a wall, if Sesseval, by a very seasonable charge, had not extricated me from signal danger.

The Prince of Parma having divided his army in the Low Countries, Monsieur returned to Cambray; where he was guilty of an instance of perfidy towards D'Inchy, very little worthy of a great prince, all whose words ought to be so inviolable, that no person should have a thought of suspecting him on the score of good credit. He invited himself to dine with this governor, who was at an excessive expence to receive him in the citadel, in a manner suitable to his rank. He invited above sixty to attend this prince, whom he treated with equal greatness and magnificence. During the repast, he was told that Monsieur's guards presented themselves at the gates. D'Inchy thinking he should fail in an essential part of his reception of Monsieur, if he sent them back, gave orders for their admittance, and of all who might come on the part of that prince, who was, he said, sole master in the castle. He spoke more truth than he imagined. After these came others, and after them more, till this party finding itself the strongest, Monsieur's guards disarmed those of M. D'Inchy, and seized upon the castle. All this arrangement was the invention of Monsieur, who relied upon that sincerity in the governor,

vernor, with which he was himself unacquainted. When D'Inchy could no longer doubt of his misfortune, he complained bitterly to Monsieur, who answered him only with an insulting jeer at his Picardy accent, and obliged him to quit the castle, which he gave to Balagny. He thought he made D'Inchy sufficient amends by the gift of the town and duchy of Chateau-Thierry. But that gentleman, who perceived the difference between what was given him and what he had been deprived of, resigned himself to despair, and seeking death, found it soon after in a skirmish.

After this Monsieur returned to France, notwithstanding the prayers of the inhabitants of the Low Countries to the contrary, who assured him, that after the taking of five or six places, the only ones of any consequence, all Flanders would submit to him. His design was to make preparations for a voyage to England, whither he actually went a little time after. All our historians have spoken of the reception he met with from Queen Elizabeth *, and of the nature of that engagement which he contracted with her : I shall therefore say nothing, though I accompanied him in this voyage. From England Monsieur again returned to Zealand, flattered with a thousand agreeable hopes. He came to Lillo, and afterwards to Antwerp, where he was crowned Duke of Brabant by the Prince of Orange, assisted by the Prince Dauphin, and all the nobility of the Low Countries, who displayed their joy in a thousand shapes. This affection of

* It is well known that the Queen of England allowed several of the princes of Europe to flatter themselves in this manner with hopes of marrying her ; and whether policy, or reasons purely natural, was the cause that she never came to any conclusion, is a question not hitherto decided. Monsieur went to England in the winter of 1581, and returned to Flanders the spring following. See the detail of this voyage, and of all the negotiations concerning the marriage at great length, in the *Memoirs of Nevers*, vol. 1. p. 474.—603.

the Dutch for Monsieur was of very short continuance. The Prince of Orange, the only person who was still more beloved by the people than he, being wounded in his chamber at Antwerp by a pistol-bullet *, the populace, who thought none but the French could be accused of this action, mutinied, and would have put them all to the sword. Monsieur could find no security but in taking refuge in the house of the wounded. When the true cause of this assassination was discovered †, there were no excuses or satisfactions which the burghesses did not make to Monsieur for the injustice of their suspicions, and the revolt they had occasioned. But this outrage remained deeply impressed on the heart of Monsieur. He vowed within himself to revenge it in a signal manner. The Prince of Orange was not a man that could be easily deceived : he began from that moment to be upon his guard ; for he read in the heart of the prince, his resentment, and the inveterate hatred which he bore to all Protestants in general.

As for me, I had already received proofs of it personally, which, added to other subjects of complaint that Monsieur gave me, disgusted me totally at his service. I had at first attached myself solely to his person, and to please him I spared neither labour nor expence ; I believed therefore that I might talk to him of my pretensions to the succession of the Viscount de Gand, for it depended

* March 18. 1582, by John de Jaureguy. The ball went quite through his jaw. The assassin was taken by the soldiers of the Prince of Orange, who rushed in at the noise, just as he was drawing his poniard to dispatch him. *Chron. Piafsecki.*

† By the papers that were found in his pocket, he was known to be a Spaniard. This it was that appeased the people, who were ready to put all the French to the sword. *Mem. d'Aubery du Maurier.* The people ran about the street, crying, Behold, this is the marriage of Paris, let us kill these assassins. *Matthieu, vol. 1. book 7. in fin.*

upon him to make this estate fall to me. He became cold upon this proposition; he made use of delays; but at last he came to a determination, and one day that I redoubled my instances, he told me very cavalierly, that he could not gratify two persons at a time; and that my cousin the Prince of Epinoy had obtained, without trouble, what had cost me so much assiduity. There was something in this answer greatly more poignant than the refusal itself: I was sensibly struck with it; and, a few days after, I knew for certain what share his Protestant officers and I had in his heart, when I heard him say publicly, that he had just banished from his council D'Avantigny, the last of the Huguenots to whom he would confide his secrets, and that this made him greatly at ease. From that time I bethought myself of quitting this ungrateful prince; and waiting an occasion of returning into France, I attached myself to the Prince of Orange, in whom I found all that was wanting in Monsieur. I remember, a few days before the treachery of Antwerp, being at this prince's palace with Sainte-Aldegonde, and a minister named *Villiers*; he said to us, speaking of Monsieur and the Catholics, who governed him, "These people have designs pernicious both for themselves and us, in which, it is my opinion, they will not find their account. I intreat you, Sir," added he, turning to me, "not to remove yourself from my lodging." He thought justly; and his diligence finishing what his foresight had begun, Monsieur suffered the double shame of unsuccessful treachery*.

* About that time the same attempt was made, by Monsieur's orders, on the principal cities of Flanders; the project succeeded upon Dunkirk, Dixmude, and Dendermonde, but failed upon Bruges, Ostend, Nieuport, &c. *De Thou*, book 77. The Duke of Montpensier and the Marechal de Biron made use of all their efforts in vain to dissuade Monsieur from this enterprise. *Matthieu*, *ibid*.

Having assembled his army in the plain, he went out of Antwerp one day of the month of February, under the pretence of making a review, and ordered his soldiers to enter the city again by those gates that were at his disposal, and to make themselves masters of it by armed force. Accordingly his men threw themselves into Antwerp, as into a city carried by assault, crying out, "Slaughter, slaughter, the city is gained; the mass for ever." But the triumph was of short duration. The Prince of Orange, who watched all the motions of Monsieur, gave such good orders every where, or rather made those he had long before given to be so well executed, that Monsieur's soldiers were repulsed, cut in pieces, or almost all precipitated. For terror having once spread among them, those who could not get out by the gates, which the great number of carcases had obstructed, threw themselves from the top of the walls. I had mounted my horse two hours after noon, to go and join Monsieur in the field. I was not yet gone out of the city, when I heard the first shouts of the assailants, and almost in the same instant met the Prince of Orange, who desired me and some other French gentlemen of the Reformed religion, who were with me, to retire to his lodgings. As Frenchmen we run the greatest risk in the city at this moment; as Huguenots, we were in no less imminent hazard from the French army, if it continued in possession of the city. We followed his counsel, and saw him not again till after he had perfectly re-established the peace of the town. All the trouble that he gave himself to appease the Flemish, and to make them forget a step so inexcusable, is a proof that he was induced with regret, and in his personal defence, to an action of which no Frenchman disapproved. It was not his fault, that the Protestant party in Flanders was not reconciled to Monsieur :
and

and as for us, after knowing that it was our intention to join this prince, he put us into a condition to do it without danger.

We found him greatly embarrassed in the neighbourhood of Mechlin, of which the inhabitants, by opening their sluices, had made one vast marsh. Four or five thousand foot at least, and as many horse of Monsieur's army, perished there with cold and hunger, in a very rigorous season. Monsieur, however, abode five or six months in Flanders after this fatal enterprise : but his army had been so considerably diminished, the remainder was so wretched, the cities were so well upon their guard, and, to complete the misfortune, the Prince of Parma returned so superior, that Monsieur was at last obliged to go back to France with the Duke de Montpensier, and the Marechal de Biron, leaving nothing of himself in all the Low Countries but the remembrance of a name justly detestable.

Wo to every prince so imprudent as not to be able to conceal his hatred against them whose service is necessary to him. But let us say once for all, to the advantage of virtue, that, every thing rightly considered, it most infallibly warrants the success of great enterprises. Wisdom, equity, good discipline, order, courage, good fortune, all things which beget one another, in the order in which they are here marked, are manifestly the whole concatenation of actions of men truly great. The procedure of those who unjustly set themselves off with this comely name, offer, on the contrary, nothing but temerity and obstinacy, the companions of blind ambition ; an intoxication of their power, a vain confidence in their talents, a presumption upon their good fortune ; all effects of flattery, which ordinarily subjects no persons so imperiously as those pretended heroes who believe themselves born to subject the whole universe.

I had no mind to quit Flanders without seeing the places which gave birth to my ancestors. I took a passport from the Count of Barlaymont, and came to Bassée, to the house of Madam de Mastin, my aunt. She received me as a nephew whom she had disinherited, because he neither believed in God nor in his saints, and because he worshipped none but the devil. This was the notion Father Silvester, a Cordelier, a famous preacher, and the director of this lady, had judged proper to give her of all Protestants; and she believed him upon his word. She carried me to see an abbey that she had founded; and as she was shewing me the tombs of some of my ancestors, which she had caused to be erected there, she thence took occasion to speak to me of my faith. If I were surpris'd to hear her utter the reveries that Father Silvester had put into her head, she was not less, when, to undeceive her, I recited the creed, and all the prayers which are in common to us with the Roman Catholics. The sentiments of nature awakened in the soul of this lady with those of reason: she had never been wanting with regard to me but out of her downright honesty. She embraced me with tears in her eyes, and promised me not only that she would assure me of all her estates, but also that she would make those of the Viscount de Gand to be restored to me. She spoke sincerely: doubtless Father Silvester found reasons still better to dissuade the effect of her good intentions; for nothing of all that she promised was ever executed.

I had above all a particular desire to see the city of Bethune, the country and ancient inheritance of my ancestors, who possessed there for a long time very considerable estates. The treachery Monsieur had used with the city of Antwerp, rendered all the other cities of the Low Countries suspicious. They would not suffer me to enter Bethune till after

I had shewn my passport, declared my name, and convinced them I came from Madam de Mastin; which produced an effect that I little expected. I had taken the road to an inn, whose sign was the coronet of the family of Bethune, when I saw coming towards me a platoon of armed men, that gave me some apprehension. It was, however, the burgeses of the city, who, full of respect for the blood of their ancient Lords, no sooner knew who I was, than they thought it proper to pay me all possible honours, and brought me a present of wine, baked meats, and other refectiions. I did not leave this city till after I had visited exactly, and examined with secret pleasure, all the public and particular monuments which preserved to posterity the remembrance of the benefits my ancestors had conferred on this city, and its gratitude for them.

Flanders having nothing more to detain me, I returned to France, and took the direct road to Rosny, where I scarce halted. I set out for Guyenne, full of joy to meet again the King of Navarre after so long an absence. This prince received me in a manner that left me no room to doubt but he was sensibly pleased at my return. He inclined I should relate all my adventures, and those of Monsieur. "Well," said he to me, after I had done, "is not this the accomplishment of all I told you of this prince at Coutras? but the Viscount de Turenne, whom I dissuaded as much as possible from following him, has managed his matters still worse than you."

The expedition of Monsieur into the Low Countries had irritated the King of Spain to such a degree, as to make him endeavour to gain the King of Navarre's friendship, and offer him his succours for renewing the war with the royalists of France. This proposition he received at Hagemau, whither

he had gone to visit the Countess of Guiche *; for his passion for this lady was then at its height. The diffidence Henry had of all that came to him from Spain, and his natural antipathy against that court, prevented his giving any credit to it. I will not take upon me to answer for the sincerity of the Spaniards in all the offers which were made him at different times by Bernardin de Mandoce, the Chevalier Moreau, and Calderon. I believe, however, there were moments in which the King of Spain dealt faithfully with the King of Navarre †, and this might be of that number. But be that as it will, the King of Navarre gave no answer to this proposition, and only made use of it to convince the King and Queen-mother of the purity of his intentions. He sent me to Paris, to inform them of this step of Spain.

There was no longer almost any such thing as speaking to the King. This prince having retired to Vincennes, was inaccessible to all but his minions and the ministers of his pleasures. I expected to have been introduced to him by the Queen of Navarre; for this princess, whose humour could not sympathise with that of the King her husband,

* Diana, or Corisande Dandoins, Viscountess of Lovigny, &c. wife, and afterwards widow, of Philibert Count of Grammont. In the observations upon the amours of Alexander the Great, this lady is said to have sent Henry IV. 23 or 24,000 Gascons, levied at her own expence. It is also mentioned there, that she had a son named Antony, whom that prince offered to acknowledge for his own; but the young man replied, that he chose rather to be considered as a gentleman than the bastard of a king. *Journal of Henry III.'s reign*, p. 270.

† That which induced him to believe this, was, that to this letter of the King of Spain's, presented to the King of Navarre by the Chevalier Moreau, or the Commander Morré, as Davila calls him, book 2. was added an offer of 50,000 crowns a-month, made by the same Chevalier, on the frontier of Bearn, to maintain the King of Navarre's army, provided he would make war upon France. *Mem. of the league*, vol. 5.

had now * left him to return to the court of France : but I learned from Madam de Bethune, that she was in no better intelligence with the Queen her mother, and the King her brother. I had recourse to Madam de Sauves, who procured me an audience of Catherine. The affair appeared to her of consequence ; she spoke of it to the King, and a negotiation was begun there. I even obtained from his Majesty a credential letter for the King of Navarre ; but what reliance could one have on the resolutions of a court, where, it would seem, they took never a good step that was not immediately repented of ? The Queen-mother judged it proper to make no other use of the King of Navarre's confidence, than to enter into a stricter union with Spain ; as this prince came to know by the reproaches the King of Spain made him, for having betrayed his secret.

One consequence of this reconciliation with Spain, was the bad reception Monsieur met with from the King upon his return from Flanders, which occasioned his retiring to Château-Thierry, oppressed with chagrin. As I was now unemployed at home, whither I had retired after seeing my deputation miscarry, a motive of curiosity led me to visit Monsieur at Château-Thierry. I imagined his bad fortune might have made him wiser ; but it had only abated his pride. He received me with so many civilities, that judging they could not come but from some principle of interest, I immediately concluded, he had some great designs in his head.

* From that time they always lived separate, notwithstanding the reproaches which Henry III. often made the King of Navarre on that subject, and upon some others that are mentioned by L'Étoile. One day, when the latter received some very sharp letters from Henry III. "The King," said he, "in all his letters, honours me greatly ; for by the first he calls me C——, and by the last the son of P——."

I no longer doubted it when I heard the magnificent offers made me in his name by Aurilly, who had procured me the honour of kissing his hand. Through projects with which Monsieur * was intoxicated, I could discover at the bottom of his heart a melancholy and secret bitterness that devoured him, and which nothing could dispel. It was the beginning of that languor which some time after terminated by death his ambitious projects †.

At my return to Paris, I received an order from the King of Navarre to attend him upon important affairs. He was meditating to disconcert, if possible, all the measures of the league, the great scope of which this ingenious prince early apprehended. He needed a man of confidence at court to study all its motions; and it was to charge me with this employment, that he had commanded my attendance. He communicated his reflections to me, gave me all the necessary instructions, and when I went to take leave of him, embracing me several times, he said, "My friend, remember that the
" principal quality in a man of true courage and
" worth, is to keep his word inviolably; in that
" which I have given to you, I will never fail." I was not to seek for a pretext to authorise this second journey to Paris. This favour in which I had

* Monsieur took the titles of Son of France, by the grace of God, Duke of Lauthier, of Brabant, Luxemburg, Guelderland, Alençon, Anjou, Tourain, Berry, Evreux, and Château-Thierry; Count of Flanders, of Holland, Zealand, Zulphen, Maine, Perche, Mante, Meulan, and Beaufort; Marquis of the holy Roman empire; Lord of Friesland and Mechlin; Defender of the Belgic liberty. *Hercules* was the name that was given him at his baptism; but when it was confirmed, it was changed to *Francis*.

† There is not any historian who doubts that he died by poison. His blood ran through all his pores, as if every vein had been burst. *De Thou*, book 78. This was, say the *Memoirs of Nevers*, for having lain with La —, who made him smell a poisoned nosegay. *Ibid.* p. 163. *Busbeq.* p. 33. 35.

left my two young brothers at court*, made it very plausible. They began to give jealousy to the minions. The King already made them of his parties of devotion, which was a step speedily to arrive at the greatest familiarity. However, I learned, on my arrival, that they were disgraced; the reason of which I did not know till a long time after, and it is of the number of those things that ought to be passed over in silence†. This did not hinder me from entering upon my new function at Paris, and the court. I gave the King of Navarre exact intelligence of all that passed there, that he might take the measures most suitable to the state of his affairs.

Engaged in this new kind of life, which obliged me, by the nature of the occupations in which I was taken up, to frequent the court, to mingle in the most brilliant companies of the city, to take part in their amusements, their pleasures, their idleness; in the flower and strength of my age, it will naturally be expected that I paid the ordinary tribute to love. I became desperately enamoured of the daughter of the President de St Mesmin, one of the most beautiful persons in France.

At first, I wholly abandoned myself to a passion, the beginnings of which are so delightful; and when I would have resisted it afterwards, by reflecting that this alliance was not convenient for me, I found this reflection very feeble against the regards of this whole family for me, the friendship of a respectable father, and the charms of a mistress that

* Solomon and Philip de Bethune. The first as eldest, was called *Baron of Rosny*, and was governor of Mante. The second has formed the branch of the Counts of Selles and Charost. By attaching themselves to the person and party of the King of France, they both abjured the Protestant religion, in which they had been educated.

† Those who are curious to know it, need only consult the confession of Sancy, chap. 7.

merited affection. I should have had great difficulty to have broken this chain by my own strength. La-Fond * proposed to me, for my diversion, to visit Mademoiselle de Courtenay†, whom he wished me to seek, as being of a party more convenient for me in all respects. I saw her, and internally approved this choice; but Mademoiselle de St Mesmin soon destroyed all these wise reflections.

I came one day to sleep at Nogent upon the Seine, having with me this same La-Fond, and some other persons. Thither a singular chance had conducted Mademoiselle de St Mesmin, and Mademoiselle de Courtenay, which I learned the moment I alighted at the inn. The conjuncture was the most delicate, and I judged that there was no way of getting clear but by breaking for ever with her of the two ladies to whom I should refuse my first visit and assiduities. There is no management nor address that can in such a case satisfy two women at once.

The young sister of St Mesmin came down at this moment, and found me in a revery, as a man who sought to reconcile reason with love. She perceived it; and my embarrassment affording her a fine field for the vivacity of her spirit, she endeavoured to draw me to her sister's feet; when La-Fond approaching me, whispered in my ear, "Turn
" to the right, Monsieur: there you will find
" riches, a royal extraction, and full as much beau-
" ty, when it shall have attained to the age of per-
" fection." These two loose words seasonably recalled my reason, and fixed my irresolution. I agreed that La-Fond gave me good counsel, and

* La-Fond was his valet de chambre. He is mentioned in another place.

† Anne de Courtenay, youngest daughter of Francis de Courtenay, Lord of Bentin.

that the only difference as to beauty between Mademoiselle de Courtenay and her rival, was, that the one held me upon the score of charms, which a year or two more promised the other. I excused myself from going to see Mademoiselle de St Mesmin, which drew upon me great reproaches ; but I sustained the assault, and in the same breath repaired to the apartment of Mademoiselle de Courtenay, who valued this sacrifice above its price. She imparted to me the pleasure she took in the preference ; and I applauded myself, when I had considered my new mistress more attentively, and when some visits more had acquainted me with her character. She admitted my address, and a short time after this adventure I married her.

The tenderness due to an amiable spouse, detained me at Rosny this whole year (1584), in the occupations, exercises, and diversions of the country : another kind of life no less new. The country, to those who have been accustomed to live at court and in the field, is ordinarily an occasion of double expence ; but it furnishes many resources, to a man who knows that good œconomy can supply the place of great riches. A taste for fine horses, which I had cultivated merely for pleasure, made a useful part of this domestic œconomy. I kept jockeys, who went to seek horses in foreign countries, where they were cheap ; I sent them to be sold in Gascony, at the King of Navarre's court, where I never failed to draw large sums for them. I remember to have sold, among others, a roan horse marked with a peach-flower to the Viscount de Chartres, for 600 crowns, which cost me only 40. The tapestry of the labours of Hercules, which adorns the hall of Sully, came from M. de Nemours de la Garnache, who paid me in this coin a fine Spanish horse that I had sold him at 1200 crowns.

Towards

Towards the end of this year *, a letter from the King of Navarre drew me from this inactive life. He informed me, that the time which he had foreseen was arrived in which he had need of his servants ; that the state and religion were threatened with the last misfortune, if immediate endeavours were not used to prevent it ; and that he should incessantly have upon his hands a most cruel war. I instantly disposed myself to attend this prince, taking with me, as well for his occasions as my own, 48,000 francs, from the sale of a wood of tall beeches which I made with this intention.

In effect, the hardy enterprises of the league

* The peace continuing in force till the following year, the Memoirs of this and the preceding contain little concerning the King of Navarre. *Le Grain* relates the adventure that happened to him with Capt. Michau, who pretended to have quitted the service of Spain for that of this prince, in order to find some opportunity of murdering him treacherously. One day, says he, when the King of Navarre was hunting in the forests of Aillas, he perceived Michau just behind him, well mounted, with a couple of pistols cocked and primed. The King was alone and unattended, it being customary for hunters to separate: and seeing him approach, "Capt. Michau," said he to him, with a bold and determined air, "dismount; I have a mind to make trial of your horse, that I may know if it be as good a one as you say it is." The Captain obeyed, and dismounting, the King got upon his horse, and taking the pistols, "Do you design to shoot me with one of these?" said he: "I am told you intend to kill me; but in the mean time I can kill you if I please." Saying this, he discharged the two pistols in the air, and commanded the Captain to follow him. Michau, having good reasons to desire to be excused, took leave of him two days after, and never after appeared. *Decade of Henry the Great, book 8.* Busbeq, who at that time resided at Paris, in the quality of ambassador from the Emperor Rodolphus II. assures us also, in his letters (epist. 46.), that a deserter, whom he does not name, administered poison to the King of Navarre; but that this prince, either by the strength of his constitution or the weakness of the poison, felt no bad effects from it: and adds, that this same man having attempted afterwards to shoot him with a pistol, and failed, was taken, and put to the torture; and that it was known by the behaviour of Henry III. upon this occasion, that he had no part in the designed assassination.

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broke out this year*; and one cannot reflect without trembling, that, in less than four years, ten royal armies fell upon the King of Navarre, when the danger that threatened equally the two kings

* The first step which discovered the designs of the league, was an association of princes, prelates, and gentlemen of Picardy, who met at Peronne, to avoid obeying the edict of sixty-three articles, given in 1576, in favour of the Protestants. The manifesto that was there drawn up, served for a model to all the other provinces, and even to the states of Blois, which were summoned about the end of that year, and whose resolutions obliged Henry III. to declare himself the head of the Catholics against the Huguenots, that he might not leave this title to be assumed by the Duke of Guise. At first, they talked only of maintaining the Catholic religion alone in the kingdom; but at length a debate concerning the succession to the crown was introduced, into which they brought the Pope and the King of Spain. See the form of these associations in the MS. marked 8826 in the King's library, p. 160. The conspiracy of the nobility of Normandy, with the oath to preserve the Catholic religion in France, and the crown to the house of Valois, see in vol. 8832. p. 5. All this volume is likewise filled with memoirs relating to the league, and the first states of Blois. See also the treaty the league made with the King of Spain at the castle of Joinville, and signed by the respective parties, with many other pieces on the same subject, vol. 8866. All, or part of these pieces, with very curious circumstances relating to the same subject, may be found in different authors, such as the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. 1. Memoirs of the league, vol. 1. Memoirs of state by Villeroy, vol. 2. De Thou, book 63 & 81. D'Aubigné, vol. 2. book 3. chap. 3. Matthieu, vol. 1. book 7. & 8. Le Noënaire de Cayet, vol. 1. *in init.* and many others. Many persons believe the original of the league to be much more ancient, and that it took its rise in the council of Trent, through the endeavours of the Cardinal of Lorraine, the uncle; during which Francis Duke of Guise, on his side, formed the plan of it in France; but the death of the latter suspended the effect. It is pretended also, that Don John of Austria, passing through France, in his way to Flanders, concerted the scheme with the Duke of Guise. The college of Fortet has passed for the cradle of the league. It is said that an advocate named *David*, carried the memoirs to Rome; and that those memoirs, which may be read in vol. 1. of the Memoirs of the league, being intercepted by the Huguenots, gave them the first certainty of it. Some persons have doubted whether this advocate, who died in his journey to Rome, or, as others say, in his return from thence, did not treat with the Pope by his own motion, and agreeably to his own opinion: which is not less probable. As for Henry III. he certainly deserves all the reproaches which the Duke of Sully here casts upon him. He had

kings was turned against him alone, through the weakness of Henry III. who received laws from his very enemies, and conducted himself the hand that sought to subvert his authority.

Henry III. perceiving the league would publicly set up the standard of revolt, waked a little from the lethargy into which he had been plunged, and thought proper to dispatch the Duke de Joyeuse into Normandy, to oppose the Duke d'Elbœuf, who kept an army there, which the league made use of to extort the famous edict of July *, by which all the Huguenots were ordered to go to mass, or to abandon the kingdom in six months.

Joyeuse, who had my two brothers in his army, passed by Rosny, and engaged me, without difficulty, to go with him : by attacking the league, we en-

undeniable proofs of his enemies designs upon the royal authority ; to whom, when he broke the edict of pacification in 1577, he said aloud these words : " I am much afraid, that by our endeavours to " suppress Calvinism, we shall bring the mass into danger." We are assured, that all the secrets of the league were discovered by a gentleman named *La Rochette*, to whom they were intrusted, and who suffered himself to be taken on purpose, that he might reveal them without danger. In a word, it is also certain, that the Duke of Guise began to raise the standard of his party in 1585, when he was still so weak, that he could not depend upon more than 4000 foot and 1000 horse. Beauvais Nangis (and he relates it himself in his *Memoirs*) asked him one day what he intended to do if the King should come to attack him : " I will retire immediately to Germany," replied the Duke, " and there wait for a more favourable " opportunity."

* This was the treaty of Nemours, the triumph of the league, and the disgrace of Henry III. Henry IV. told the Marquis de la Force, in the presence of Matthieu, that the moment he was informed of this inglorious weakness of the King of France, his mustaches turned suddenly white on that side of his face which he supported with his hand, *Matth. vol. 8.* Sixtus V. manifested his indignation ; and by the same bull of September 5. 1585, wherein he excommunicated all that assisted the Huguenots, he likewise excommunicated those who undertook any thing against the King and kingdom. He foresaw at that time all the miseries that would befall France. See these articles of Nemours, and the proceedings of the league both in France and in Rome, *Memoirs of Nevers, vol. 1. p. 661. &c.*

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tered into the true interests of the King of Navarre. I gave him the best reception in my power ; but nothing charmed him so much as the beauty of my horses.

Lavardin likewise took his way by Rosny, and went to lodge at the extremity of the town. Chicot *, who would always give a loose to his pleasant humour, at the expence of Lavardin, whom he called a madman, sent to tell him one day, in a very mysterious manner, that that devil of a Huguenot (meaning me) had kept the deaf man prisoner, (another surname he gave to the Duke of Joyeuse). Lavardin, without reflecting that his attempt had been perfectly useless, though it had not been ridiculous, armed himself immediately, with all his domestics, and came to make a bravado before my house ; where the raileries of all the company were profusely bestowed upon him.

What I am going to say, will not be easily be-

* Chicot was a Gascon, brave, rich, and a buffoon. At the siege of Rouen, he wounded Henry of Lorraine, Count of Chaligny, in the thigh ; and taking him prisoner, presented him to Henry IV. saying, " Here, keep what I give thee." The Count, enraged at being taken by a fool, gave him a blow on the head with the hilt of his sword, which killed him. He used to say whatever he pleased to the King, without giving him any offence. When the Duke of Parma came to France, Chicot said to the King, before all the courtiers, " My friend, I see very well that all you do will signify nothing, unless you either turn Catholic, or pretend you are one." Another time he said to him, " I am convinced, that to be peaceably King of France, you would give both Papists and Huguenots to Lucifer's clerks : so true it is, that you kings have no religion but in appearance." " I am not surprised," said he, another time, to his Majesty, " that so many persons desire to be kings : it is a good trade, and by working at it only an hour in a day, one may make sufficient provision for the rest of the week, without being obliged to one's neighbours. But, for God's sake, my friend, take care and keep out of the hands of the leaguers ; for if you should fall into some of them, they would hang you up like a hog's gut, and write upon your gibbet, At the crown of France and Navarre are good lodgings to be let." *Memoirs for the history of France, vol. 2. p. 72.*

lieved. Scarce were we set out together, but upon our arrival at Vernueil, the Duke of Joyeuse received a packet from court, which informed him, that the King had made a peace with the league, and that it was his Majesty's intention, that the army, which only two days ago was to support him against the league*, should be led against the King of Navarre. Joyeuse, in relating this to me, added, " Well ! Monsieur le Baron de Rosny, this stroke
" will give me a cheap bargain of your fine horses,
" for the war is declared against the Protestants :
" but I assure myself, that you will not be so foolish
" as to go in search of the King of Navarre,
" and embark in a party that will infallibly be
" ruined, and make you lose your fine estate of
" Rosny."

The Duke might have spoken much longer without interruption. I knew the court enough, not to be surprised at any thing from that quarter. But I was astonished to think by how many traverses it pleased Fortune to conduct the King of Navarre to that greatness which she had destined for him : for I was always internally persuaded of this ; and the predictions of La Brosse were continually present to my mind ; so that my answer to Joyeuse turned wholly upon them ; after which I quitted him abruptly. The extravagance must have appeared to him a little strong ; and I learned that he said to

* The King was obliged to it at Châlons by the leaguers, who were assembled there. He secretly excused himself to the King of Navarre, upon the score of necessity. This prince and the Queen his mother suffered themselves to be unseasonably intimidated by the threats of the league, whose forces were exaggerated, although it would have been very easy to have destroyed them in the beginning. The council missed an occasion of uniting the Low Countries to the crown, by sending back the deputies from those provinces without an answer, who came to offer the sovereignty of them to the King, provided he would march with his troops on that side. Thus were two great errors committed at one time. *De Thou, book 81.*

those

those about him, "There goes a master-fool; but
"he will be finely abused by his forcerer."

I returned to my house; from whence I departed instantly, after taking some new measures conformable to the sudden change which had so lately happened. I went expeditiously to Guienne, where the King of Navarre was, and staid with him four or five months, during which he was employed in making preparations against the storm. He carried me with him to Montauban, where he held frequent conferences with the Protestants upon the part it was necessary they should take in this conjuncture. The misery was, that, upon an occasion when all was at stake, they did not understand their true interest sufficiently, at least so as to keep them perfectly united, and to concur honestly in the same views. From that time, some of the principal chiefs thought more of their own particular advancement than upon that of the King, without reflecting that their fortunes were so closely connected with his, that if he failed, it was impossible they could succeed. Each built a fortune for himself, out of the general plan.

This disunion of minds shewed itself more signally in a particular conference held at St Paul de Lamiate, where audience was given to a doctor of divinity, named *Butrick*, sent by the Elector Palatine. It was there that the Viscount de Turenne gave the first marks of that unquiet, double, and ambitious spirit, which formed his character. He had, in concert with this Butrick, projected a new system of government *, into which they had drawn

* The historian who gives us the life of the Duke of Bouillon, does not deny that these were the views of this Calvinist nobleman. He was a very able politician, extremely ambitious, passionately desirous of the quality of leader of the Calvinists of France, and very capable of filling that post. This is all that can be said of him, to soften those terms, a little too strong, which M. de Sully frequently employs in these Memoirs, when he speaks of the Duke of Bouillon.

Mess. de Constans, D'Aubigné, de St Germain-Beaupré, de St Germain de Clan, de Brezolles, and others. They wanted to form the Calvinist part of France into a kind of republican state, under the protection of the Elector Palatine, who should keep in his name five or six lieutenants in the different provinces.

In examining this project, it was agreed, that the King of Navarre was cleared of all obligations to these gentlemen; since, by this plan, they confounded the princes of the blood with the officers of the Protestant party, and reduced them to the quality of lieutenants under a petty stranger prince. This was not the only time that the King of Navarre found secret enemies in his councils, among his creatures, and, in appearance, his most zealous servants, and even among his own friends and his relations.

We must lay our account with every thing on the part of men. They do not, for the most part, keep to their duty, to society, to consanguinity, from any regard to benefits, good credit, or virtue, but according to their hopes and their success. But how could these able politicians pretend to maintain unity and concord in their pretended republic? they, who were for giving it so many heads, and heads as independent the one of the other, as unsubjected to a protector too feeble to compel their obedience. It was perceived at first what was their object: they meant to become each in their district so many sovereigns, not adverting, that by this they only delivered up one another to the discretion of Spain, and of the league, who had destroyed them easily, by attacking them separately.

These cabals of the principal officers in the Protestant party with a foreigner, which were carried on in a manner hidden enough, happily did not hinder

hinder the better party from prevailing in the assemblies. The Duke of Montmorency* was of opinion, that in the present danger we should be all united, and put ourselves effectually upon the defensive. I insisted, in all the councils, upon the necessity of acknowledging the authority of one only head, and of not dissipating the power, by dividing it. As we came out from one of these councils, the King of Navarre drawing me aside, said to me, "Monsieur le Baron de Rosny, it is not all to speak well, we must act still better : Are you not resolved that we shall die together ? it is no longer time to be good œconomists ; all men of honour and conscience must employ one part of their estates to save the other. I persuade myself, that you will be among the first to assist me ; and I promise you, if I ever have good fortune, you shall partake of it." "No, no, Sir," answered I, "I do not incline we should die together, but that we should live, and that we should cut the head off all our enemies. My good management will not be detrimental here. I have still a wood that will produce me 100,000 francs, which I will employ to this end. You shall give me more one day, when you are immensely rich. This will happen. I had a preceptor, who had a devil in his body, and he predicted it to me." The King of Navarre could not help laughing at this sally ; and embracing me closely, "Well, my friend," said he to me, "return to your house, be diligent, and come to me soon again, with as many of your friends as you can bring with you, and do not forget your wood of tall beeches." He afterwards communicated to me the design he had to draw the war to Paris, or at least to the

* This is Henry, Marechal Damville, afterwards Duke of Montmorency.

Loire ; which was, in effect, the only method to succeed. He told me also, that he had practised some intelligence in Angers, but that he feared the Prince of Condé would, by his precipitation, obstruct his designs there more than the Catholics. The event will shew if he thought justly. He promised to inform me of all that passed, and took leave of me, after a thousand testimonies of affection, which I shall never forget.

I arrived at Bergerac, almost in the same moment that the Cardinal de Lenoncourt, M. de Silbery, and M. de Poigny, were deputed by the court to the King of Navarre, to represent to him, for the last time, the necessity of submitting to the will of the King, and of changing his religion *. Poigny came to me the next day, and disclosing to me

* In the Memoirs of the life of J. A. de Thou, book 3. there is a conversation which Michael de Montagne had with this president, which the reader may not be displeased to see here. As they were discoursing says the author, upon the causes of the present troubles, Montagne told the President, that he had been a mediator between the King of Navarre and the Duke of Guise, when these princes were at the court ; and that the latter, by his cares, his services, and assiduities, made advances to gain the King of Navarre's friendship ; but finding that he made a jest of him, and that, after all his endeavours, he was still an implacable enemy, he had recourse to war, as the last resource to defend the honour of his family ; that the enmity which raged in the minds of these two persons, was the cause of a war, which was at present so far kindled, that only the death of one of them could extinguish it ; that neither the Duke, nor any of his family, believed themselves secure, while the King of Navarre lived ; and the King of Navarre, on his side, was persuaded, that he should draw no advantage from his right of succession to the crown, during the Duke's life. As for religion, added he, which they both make such a noise about, it is a good pretence to procure adherents, but neither of them is much affected by it. The fear of being abandoned by the Protestants, is the sole cause that prevents the King of Navarre from embracing the religion of his ancestors ; nor would the Duke recede from the confession of Augsberg, if his uncle Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, had convinced him, that he might follow it without prejudice to his interest. These, he said, were the sentiments he discovered in these princes, when he was employed in their affairs.

the subject of his commission, asked me what I thought concerning the event of his journey. I assured him that he took a useless trouble ; and that on an occasion when religion, the state, and the royal authority were in so great danger, something else than words would be necessary with the King of Navarre. He shrugged his shoulders, sighed at my answer, and instead of replying, " I believe," said he, " a mass is a difficult purchase in this city." I conducted him thither myself with the other deputies, endeavouring to persuade them, by this liberty that was allowed to Catholics, in a city where in the Protestants were masters, that we were not the real enemies of the King.

It fared with the deputation as I had predicted to the deputies. As for me, I continued my journey to Paris ; where, on my arrival, I found they talked of nothing but of ruining utterly the King of Navarre, and of exterminating the Huguenots. Every thing there passed to the mind of the league, which ruled sovereignly since the shameful step of the King ; all the Frenchmen that remained were obliged to conceal themselves, and mourn in private the misfortunes which the King's weakness had drawn upon the kingdom. It was to these that I betook myself ; and I had some conferences with Mess. de Rambouillet, de Montbazou the elder, d'Aumont, de la Roche Guion, des Arpentis, and some others. They assured me, that if once the King should appear in the neighbourhood of the Loire, he should soon see a considerable number of true Frenchmen in his train. I confirmed them as much as I could in these good resolutions ; and after I had bought horses at Paris, I made haste to amass those sums of money that I had promised the King.

I learned by public report, what had lately happened at Angers : but, in order to give a distinct
account

account of it, the story must be taken a little higher. Brissac, who was governor of the castle of this city, placed a lieutenant there in his absence, named Capt. *Grec*, with twenty soldiers upon whom he reckoned. Two of these soldiers, who had been of the Reformed religion, suffered themselves to be gained by the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to deliver up the castle to them, which would necessarily be followed by the surrender of the city. When it was learned at Angers, that Henry III. had joined with the King of Navarre against the league, a third party was formed, conducted by Du Hallot, who courted Rochemorte and Fresne, so were the two soldiers named. Matters did not long continue in this state : The two soldiers, pressed by the Prince of Condé, surprised Capt. *Grec*, and killed him with some of his men : after which they seized upon the castle. Du Hallot, who knew not of the change that had so lately happened at court, gave himself no trouble : on the contrary, he restrained the people, by representing to them, that it was by the order of the King that the two soldiers had acted : and he remained in his error, till offering to enter the castle, he experienced himself the treachery of Rochemorte and Fresne ; and his mistake made him lose his life upon a wheel *.

Hitherto all went well for the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé's party ; but they had also their reverse. Rochemorte having been drawn beyond the bridge by the Catholics, who kept the castle invested, perceived that they sought to surprise the place, and make him prisoner. He wanted to re-enter. In this tumult, those within the castle thought of nothing but of drawing the bridge instantly. Rochemorte grasped at the chains, which

* The King was so greatly afraid of the league, that he publicly disavowed Du Hallot's enterprise.

escaping

escaping him, he fell into the ditch, where a stag which they fed there tore him in pieces. Fresne only remained. Two days after, as he was sleeping upon a parapet on the wall, where he thought himself in great security, he was killed by a carabine, shot from the other side of the river, at the distance of above 500 paces. After which the Catholics chased the rest of the Huguenots from the city and castle, with the same facility that they had seized it. All this had not happened, if the King of Navarre had conducted the enterprize alone; for he would not have suffered the two conspirators to act so, till he had been at the gates to support them with his whole army.

This enterprize, so ill concerted, produced more than one misfortune. The Prince of Condé being occupied in besieging Brouage, when it was told him, that his party had surpris'd Angers, balanced not a moment about quitting the siege, and going to second his creatures. By arriving too late, he lost both the one and the other. It was, moreover, the cause, that all the Catholic troops, hitherto dispersed and inactive, assembled again in the neighbourhood of Angers, which took away all possibility of regaining it, precipitated the actions of the campaign, and brought the Prince of Condé himself, as we shall see presently, into a danger, from whence he did not escape but by a signal instance of good fortune.

After this first act of hostility on the part of the Reformed, I judged there would be no measures kept any longer, and found myself in a very great imbarassment. If I saw danger in continuing at Rosny, the country being overspread with royalists, I found no less risk in my intention to penetrate to the King of Navarre. This part, however, I took; persuaded, that he never had more need of succour than in the present conjuncture; and that the difficulty

difficulty of conveying dispatches through the midst of an enemy's army, was the only cause of my not hearing from him as he had promised. Mess. de Moui, de Feuquieres, and Morinville, to whom I imparted my resolution, found it too hazardous, and refused to embark with me. I did not for this fail to set out, escorted only by six gentlemen, and my domestics, two of whom carried portmanteaus, in each of which were 6000 crowns in gold.

I put up the first night at Nonancourt, and the second at Chateaudun. Hitherto no unlucky encounter befel me : for although all was full of Catholic soldiers, they imagined every where that I was going, like them, to join the body of the Duke of Joyeuse's army ; with whom, as a soldier named *Mothepotain* informed me, every thing went very well. I dislodged from Chateaudun before day, fearing an eclaireissement, and came to Vendome ; where not inclining to be known by Bénchart, I made Boissbreuil, one of the gentlemen in my train, pass for the master of the troop, and I mounted, with the domestics, upon a horse that carried baggage. He who appeared to be the chief amongst us, was asked several questions ; he answered properly, and we were suffered to pass. We traversed the whole city, in order to lodge in the most remote suburbs. Bénchart, who believed us to be Catholics, as we had assured him we were, very obligingly sent to counsel us to return into the city, because the Prince of Condé's army, which had been repulsed before Angers, was dispersed over all the country, and sometimes made excursions to the very gates of the city, which rendered our sojourning in the suburbs very dangerous. What he represented to us as a misfortune, we should have looked upon as a very great happiness ; but there was a necessity for concealing it : therefore the pretended master of the equipage, feigning to credit this advice, called instantly

stantly to replace the mails, and return into the city. It was my province who acted the domestic, under-hand to protract our stay till the night should come. The tumult occasioned by the imbarassment of all those who dislodged, for the order was general, served to cover our dissimulation. At length, we did as others, but not till our horses were fed and refreshed: the night being half over, we mounted; but, instead of re-entering the city, filed off into a by-street, which I had caused to be reconnoitred, and got into the fields on that side where I supposed the Prince of Condé's army might be.

The evil was, that the artifice which had hitherto succeeded so well, might occasion our ruin, through the impossibility of distinguishing readily, what party those whom we might happen to meet belonged to. A mistake in this might cost us our lives; but there being no remedy, we continued our route, though with uneasiness enough, and thought that we ought not to alter our ordinary answer. In effect, the first troop we met with was a company of light horse, commanded by Falandre. To the *Qui vive?* we answered, *Vive le Roi*; and Falandre not examining the thing to the bottom, counselled us to join him, for fear of meeting the Prince of Condé's little army, which he assured us was not far off; adding, that if we doubted him, we might get further intelligence from two or three companies of argoulets*, who were coming after him. These last words furnished us with a pretence for eluding his perplexing civility: we feigned to have reasons for not following the same route with him, and for waiting to take our measures from the an-

* So called from the bows with which they were at first armed. They served on foot or on horseback, as our dragons do at present. When the arquebuses were first in use, they were called *horse arquebusers*; and it is by this name they are commonly styled in these Memoirs.

swer we should receive from the argoulets. Inwardly, we were no less apprehensive of this other rencounter; but we prepared for it, relying still upon the good fortune of escaping, under favour of disguise. Accordingly we did not fail, to the *Qui vive?* put to us by the next company we met, to reply with assurance enough, *Vive le Roi*, persuaded that we spoke to the argoulets of the royal army, of whom we had intelligence. We had like to have fared very badly for having reasoned so justly. The argoulets having perceived the Prince of Condé's troops at a distance, had turned off the road, and had thrown themselves into the woods. In place of them, we had to do with four companies belonging to the Prince; which we easily comprehended, seeing that the whole troop fell upon us, and presenting their pieces, cried out to us to surrender. At that moment, I plainly distinguished three captains of my acquaintance, to whom it had not been difficult, in any other situation, to have made myself known; but I reflected, that in such sort of encounters, the first word, the first motion, tending to an explanation, are generally taken for a refusal to surrender, and followed by a close discharge. Instead, therefore, of naming myself, or those officers, I used the demonstration of a man who yields himself prisoner. I alighted, suffered them to take my horses, and marched in a train, till coming near Mess. de Clermont and St Gelais, whom I surprised greatly by embracing. They ordered my equipage to be restored to me, and likewise the portmanteaus which contained my money.

The Prince of Condé came up close behind these four companies. He could scarcely believe what he saw, so hardy did my enterprise appear to him. We lay all night in this place, after supping very frugally out of wooden dishes: and when the time came which obliged us to separate, the Prince, who
was

was so ill accompanied, that he was in no condition to hold out against a royal army, nor even against any considerable detachment, and in a canton where he was sought for in all parts, would have engaged me to receive him into my troop, as a private gentleman. He was too well known: It would have been to ruin him, and to have ruined myself along with him. I prayed him to excuse me. I made the same compliment to the Duke de la Trémouille, and charged myself only with Mess. de Fors, Du-Plessis, de Verac, and d'Oradour. The Prince of Condé remained extremely embarrassed; and finding that it was still a greater risk to continue in the midst of his 1200 horse, than to march with little noise, he divided them all into platoons, of which the most considerable consisted only of twenty cavaliers, made them take by-ways, and marching himself through the same roads, by a good fortune of which there are few examples, twelve times escaped the pursuit of his enemies.

My own escape was little less signal. To the stratagems I had already made use of I had joined another, which wrought wonders. I took the name of one of my brothers; and, to appear more youthful, cut off my beard and mustaches. This, however, did not disguise me so well, but that through every place where I passed, I could hear people about me say, that I perfectly resembled my brother the Huguenot. To avoid the questions that might be put to me, I assumed the style of a zealous partizan of the league. I spread the rumour of the Prince of Condé's defeat, and of the rout of the Protestants by the Duke of Joyeuse. I came in this manner to sleep at Chateau-Renard. The great difficulty was to pass the Loire: this I would hardly have accomplished, without M. des Arpentis, who did me on this occasion the office of a true friend. M. de Montbazon did me another. I no sooner

alighted at Montbazon, than he sent me a present of wine and bon-chretien pears, and treated me with so much kindness besides, that although I was known in this place, I complied with his entreaties, and staid there three days. We had need, our horses beginning to be fatigued. By the death of M. de Montbazon *, which happened soon after, I was deprived of the occasions of shewing my gratitude to a man, all whose sentiments aimed at the welfare of the state.

Under favour of my new disguise, I traversed Châtelleraud and Poitiers. At Ville-fagnan, meeting with a regiment of Swiss that was going to join the Marechal de Matignon's army, I found my advantage in this encounter. The Swiss took all in good part that I pleased to tell them, because I took care to provide them every morning with a repast; and in the end I believe I might have reckoned upon them, even under my true name. I travelled with them four days, and we did not separate while I could possibly avoid it. Scarce had I quitted them, when passing the river at St Marfaud, I was known by Puifferet. He advanced with his company to the bank of the river. Happily for me, I had already got to the other side; and having this advantage, I gained the house of M. de Neufvy. At Marton I went down, as ordinary, into the suburbs, and immediately, from I know not what foreboding, returned into the city. I learned the next day, that the door of the stable in which my horses were supposed to be, had been burst open in the night by a petard. I made my reflections upon this accident; but they did not hinder me from giving orders for my departure, when I was accosted by a stranger, who said to me, " Monsieur, I do not desire to know who you are; but if you are

* He was slain at the battle of Argues.

“ a Huguenot, and intend to quit this place, you
“ are ruined ; five miles distant from hence there
“ is an ambuscade of fifty horse, well armed,
“ which, in my opinion, waits for you.” I thanked this man heartily for his kindness, without appearing troubled at what he had told me. I answered coldly, that although I was not a Huguenot, yet to fall into an ambush, seemed to me to be always dangerous. I then returned to my inn, where pretending that one of my finest horses was lamed, I ordered them to be all unsaddled.

To satisfy myself of the truth of what I had heard, I made one of my valets, named *Perigordin*, who could imitate perfectly the jargon of a peasant, disguise himself like one ; and after instructing him in what he must do, sent him to that part of the country where I was told the ambush was posted.

Perigordin meeting these fifty horsemen, told them, in answer to the questions they put to him concerning the news of the city, that my departure was deferred till the next day. He followed them to a town, two leagues from thence, where they retired, not a little uneasy at having missed their blow, and in the resolution of returning next morning to the same place, and he came instantly back to me to make his report. I set out that moment ; and after some other little adventures of the same kind, arrived at the house of M. de Longa, and from that place at Bergerac, where the King of Navarre then was. This prince, on whom nothing of all that was done for him was ever lost, held me a long time embraced in his arms ; and shewed himself sensible of the dangers to which, from my attachment to him, I had exposed myself. He would know the most minute particularities of my journey, and principally the rencounter I had with the Prince of Condé, and the slippery condition in which I had left him.

Nothing can express the imbarassment in which the King of Navarre found himself at this time : without troops, without money, without succour, he saw three powerful armies marching against him. Those of the Dukes of Maienne and Joyeuse were advancing, by great journeys, and he had that of the Marechal de Matignon actually in front. The 40,000 francs I had brought with me, came very seasonably for this Prince, who could not have found as much in all his court. We marched towards Castillon and Montsegur, which Matignon made a shew of intending to besiege : but he falling all at once upon Castets, we were obliged to turn to that side ; and after a long and very cold march, for it was in the month of February, we arrived time enough to make them raise this siege.

But when we learned that the Duke of Maienne's army was near, then it was, that we could no longer imagine any means of being able to resist the efforts of two armies so superior ; and the astonishment was extreme. We knew not to what side to turn ourselves, nor what resolution to take. One was of opinion, that the prince should retire into the heart of Languedoc ; another, still farther ; and a third advised him to pass over to England, from whence, after having secured himself of powerful succours, he should go and put himself at the head of those that Germany had made him hope for. All agreed in one point, that the Prince ought to remove from Guienne. It was with regret that I saw a sentiment, which would leave the Protestant party in France without remedy, was ready to prevail. And the King of Navarre desiring to know my opinion, I represented, that the extremity was not so pressing as to oblige us to abandon things entirely : that it would be time enough to do that, after we had endeavoured once more to make head against them every where : this was
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what did not appear to me absolutely impossible, by leaving, for example, the Viscount de Turenne upon the defensive in Guienne, with a small body of troops, such as he could get together; and while the Duke of Montmorency did the same in Languedoc, and Lesdiguieres in Dauphiné, the King should reserve the defence of Rochelle and the neighbourhood to himself, till the foreign troops that could not but soon arrive, had put the two sides something upon an equality. The King of Navarre relished this advice, and declared that he would follow it. "But," added he, "the Duke of Maienne is not so perverse a boy, but that he will permit me to take a walk some time longer in Guienne." He then gave some orders before he set out for Rochelle, and made a journey to Bearn, which the present conjuncture rendered indispensable.

He was there only eight days; and, during this interval, the two Catholic armies having joined, and seized all the passages by which they thought the King of Navarre could return to Poitou, he saw himself upon the point of not being able to get out of Nerac. In this critical conjuncture, the King resolving to attempt all things, rather than not secure himself a passage*, he left Nerac, followed by 200 horse, and took the road towards Castel-geloux. When he was got half-way thither, he separated his whole troop, and keeping only twenty of us that were best mounted, and a like number of his guards, named Sainte-foy for a place of rendezvous for all the rest: then, turning short, he took a road amidst woods and heaths, which he knew by having often been at the chace there,

* See this passage of the King of Navarre, and all the military expeditions on both sides, in D'Aubigné, vol. 3.; Matthieu, vol. 1. book 18.; Cayet, book 1. and other historians.

and arrived at Caumont, where he slept three hours. We passed the river after sunset, and marched all night through the enemy's quarters, and even over the moats of Marmande ; after which, fetching one compass more by Sauvetat, we came two hours before day to Sainte-foy, where all his men, who had divided into small platoons, arrived also by different ways, without the least loss, not even of their baggage. The Duke of Maienne, nettled at this disappointment of his hopes, went to discharge all his wrath upon Montignac le Comte, where Capt. Roux and Serj. More made so fine a defence against all this army, that it could not oblige them to surrender, but by granting them the most honourable conditions.

This general found less resistance in Sainte-Bazeile. Despuelles, the governor of that small place, was allied to the family of Courtenay, and reputed a very brave man ; which gave me a desire to shut myself up with him, contrary to the advice of many of my relations and friends, who without doubt knew him better than I. The King of Navarre a long time denied me the permission I asked of him ; at last, vanquished by my importunity, he gave me thirty men, with whom I threw myself into Sainte-Bazeille. I found the place in a very bad condition, without ramparts, and the houses all built of clay, which the cannon went quite through. However, it might have held out some time at least ; but Despuelles, being seized with fear, listened to nothing of advice, and was mad enough to put himself into the enemies hands, who treated the city as they judged proper. The King of Navarre, who learned at first the news of this very confusedly, was angry with us all ; but when he was instructed in the truth, all his anger was turned against Despuelles. What exasperated him the most was, that this cowardly governor being presented
before

before him to exculpate himself, advanced most imprudently, that if the prince himself had been there, he could not have acted otherwise. The King made him be put under an arrest, from which, eight days after, he was released, at our solicitations.

The King did not abandon the field till at the last extremity, and after having disputed the ground inch by inch. In retreating, he threw the remains of his forces into Monségur, Castillon, and Saintefoy. I lent him 6000 livres more, to fortify Montflanquin, where Bethune commanded. At last, fearing some fatal accident on the side of Rochelle, he left some troops in Guienne, under the command of the Viscount de Turenne, and took the road to that city, by Pons, and St Jean d'Angely.

There were moments when Henry III. indignant at the shameful personage the league obliged him to play, wished ardently to find some means of revenging himself *. But he wanted to do this without danger ; and from this motive, rejected always the thought that often presented itself, of calling in the King of Navarre, and of uniting himself with him. The deputies from the four Swiss Catholic cantons coming to Paris, to treat of the succours which some time before had been demanded of this republic ; the King, who was then in one of his momentary fits of spite against the league, thought proper to make use of these Swiss for this purpose ; which, with the troops that were at his particular disposal, and those which depended upon the King of Navarre, would form a body capable of reducing the league to reason. He wrote to the King of Navarre, to acquaint him with his new designs,

* It was in these moments that he said, as L'Etoile relates, *De inimicis meis vindicabo inimicos meos*; meaning the leaguers and the Huguenots.

and desired him to send a trusty person, with whom he might confer upon this whole affair, and particularly upon the use they were to make of the Swifs. A blank passport was added to this letter, which the King of Navarre filling up with my name, obliged me to depart without delay.

I arrived at St Maur, where the court then was, and went down to the house of Villeroy, with whom I dined, and staid the rest of the day. The day after he presented me to the King. I shall ever remember the attitude and whimsical attire in which I found this prince in his cabinet. He had a sword at his side, a hood hung down upon his shoulders, a little cap upon his head, and a basket full of little dogs hung from his neck by a large riband; and he kept himself so inflexible, that, in speaking to us, he neither moved his head, nor his feet, nor his hands. He began by giving vent to his indignation against the league, which made me conclude he had received some new affront from it, and treated of his union with the King of Navarre, as of a thing the utility of which he was perfectly sensible of: but some remains of fear made him always add, that he looked upon it as impossible, so long as the King of Navarre persisted in his resolutions of not changing his religion. I took the word, and told the King in answer, that it would be in vain to propose this expedient to the King of Navarre, because by following it, he must act against his conscience; but although he were capable of doing it, this would not produce what his Majesty expected; for that the motive by which the league was actuated, was neither a love of public good, nor that of religion; that so precipitate an action would therefore lose the King of Navarre all the succours that he could expect from the Reformed, without detaching for all a single man from the league; that, on the contrary, such a weakness would increase

crease the pride of their common enemies. The King replied; and I still persisted in maintaining, that the King of Navarre, by complying with the terms proposed, could bring only his single person to his aid; whereas by uniting with him in the condition he was now in, and without exacting the sacrifice of his religion, he would strengthen the King's party with a body powerful in the state. I spoke in the same terms to the Queen-mother: and I perceived that both the one and the other remained satisfied of the force of my reasons; but that the fear of the change which a union with a prince of the Reformed religion might produce, was all that restrained them. I did not, however, despair of bringing them even to strike this bold stroke; and by the manner, not only gracious, but even free and open, in which their Majesties acted with me, I had room to flatter myself with succeeding in this.

I left them in these good dispositions, to go to Paris, to confer with the Swiss deputies. I had not so much difficulty to bring them to my purpose; it only cost me a little expence in entertainment, and especially in wine; by the means of which they promised, without restriction, a succour of 20,000 Swiss; of which 4000 only were to remain in Dauphiné, and the other 16,000 to be employed in the service, and at the discretion of the two Kings. The King of France again assured me, by Mess^{rs} de Lenoncourt, de Poigny, and Brulart, that his sentiments were not changed, and that he passionately desired the union. It was not less earnestly wished for by the King of Navarre. In the dispatches I received from him almost every day, he exhorted me to set every thing to work to make it succeed, and even to sacrifice for this something of his interest.

At my return to St Maur, after having given
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the King an account of my journey, I brought upon the carpet the question about the employment of the 16,000 Swifs, and the route they must observe. The King demanded, that they should be brought into the neighbourhood of Paris; and even, if there was need for it, serve him against the league. I foresaw all the inconvenience that might arise from this arrangement, and did not condescend to this artifice, but by the express commandment of the King of Navarre, who thought so little ought not to frustrate the accommodation. It will be presently seen, whether this article was so frivolous as was imagined, and what was the consequence of this evil compliance.

The treaty between the two Kings being concluded, upon the conditions that have been mentioned, I thought of nothing but quitting the court. I left only Marfilliere at Paris, under colour of pursuing the negotiation that had been begun: but he had only attended me to Paris, to take the first favourable occasion of going to Germany, by the means of Mess. de Clairvant and de Guित्रy; on purpose to facilitate there the mission of a body of German troops, which the Protestants of those countries had promised to the King of Navarre. This design Mansilliere executed happily. As for me, after remaining eight days only at Rosny with my wife, I rejoined the King of Navarre, very well satisfied with the success of my commission.

This prince could not resolve to continue shut up and useless in La-Rochelle. He so managed, that he obtained from the inhabitants 1200 foot, 200 horse, and three cannons, which he gave to the Duke de la Tremouille, to go and take Talmont, which he could not suffer to continue in the hands of the enemy. I followed the Duke de la Tremouille, with Mignonville, Fouquerolles, Bois-du-Lys,

Lys, and some other officers, and I had the charge of the artillery.

The town having no fortifications, we seized it without opposition, and immediately attacked the castle. The walls were very strong, but had no works on the outside. Maroniere, who was governor of it, although he did not expect to be attacked, reckoned upon some speedy supplies that Malicorne had engaged to bring him; which determined us to press the place vigorously. The passage by sea from Talmont to Rochelle is but six hours. I embarked for that place to fetch a supply of powder, of which I had not a large enough provision, and to inform the King of Navarre, that we should hardly succeed with so small a number of men. The King speedily raised 2000 more in the neighbourhood of Rochelle, and shipped them on board of three vessels, which for two days were in danger of perishing. At length we arrived at Talmont; the three vessels cast anchor there, one after another; and the besieged, learning that the King of Navarre conducted the attack in person, surrendered to him.

It was want of money that had prevented Malicorne from fetching supplies to the governor of Talmont. The King of Navarre, seeing himself delivered from this fear, led his troops to attack Chizai. Fayolle, who commanded there, defended himself perfectly: he made good use of a culverine, which was the only piece of artillery he had in the place; and did not yield till he saw himself deprived of all resource. I remarked it as a singular thing, that Madame having sent the steward of her household with a letter to the King her brother, a bullet of this culverine entered into the body of his horse by his fundament, and came out at his breast, yet he was not thrown down, but continued upright above half a quarter of an hour.

Another shot from an arquebuse caused a much greater misfortune. A gentleman charged with a verbal message to the King of Navarre, concerning important affairs, was shot dead at the feet of this prince, having only had time to tell that he came from Heidelberg, from Mess. de Clairvant and de Guitry. This officer was sent to inform the King, that the German horse, and other Protestant troops from Germany were ready to enter France; and to inquire at him through what place he thought it proper they should march. Some were for their entering by Lorrain, where the league was most powerful; others maintained, that they ought to take their route by the Bourbonnois, from thence by Berry and Poitou, coasting the Loire. Mess. de Montmorency and de Chatillon gave their opinion for keeping them in Languedoc, and all along the Rhone. Never was seen so great a diversity of sentiments, and, as ill fortune would have it, the very worst prevailed; that is to say, the advice to make them enter into Beauce; doubtless, because the King of France did not incline to remove them from himself, to the end that he might be enabled to employ them upon occasion against the league, or at least to give it an umbrage. It is not probable that the King of Navarre would have consented to this; but the accident that has been related was the cause that he was not even informed of all these contestations.

This prince, with the same good fortune, took Sanzay, and afterwards St Maixant. The noise of five or six cannons, which hitherto were seldom made use of in sieges, produced this effect. He availed himself of his good fortune; and seeing himself reinforced with 200 horse and 1500 foot, which were brought him by the Prince of Condé, and the Count de la Rochefoucault, whom he had just made Colonel-General of his infantry, he believed

lieved himself able to undertake the siege* of Fontenay, the second place in Poitou ; although he was not ignorant, that in this place there was a brave governor, and a strong garrison. This governor, whose name was *La-Roussiere*, resolved to defend not only the city, but the suburb Des-Lodges also, which was larger and richer than the city itself, and surrounded on the outside with a large ditch ; to which were added strong barricadoes, which shut up the entrance of this suburb. The King of Navarre sent La-Rochefoucault, at the head of forty gentlemen, to attack the head of this suburb in a very dark night. I joined Mess. de Dangeau, de Vaubrot, d'Avantigny, de Challandeau, de Feuquieres, de Brasscussis, Le Chene, and two or three others. We posted ourselves at the side of the barricadoes, with our pikes in our hands, and our pistols at our girdles, to throw them down, or leap over them. We were repulsed three times. Vaubrot, Avantigny, and I, in falling, drew five or six barrels of dung upon us, under which we thought to remain intangled ; but those who were at our side having at that moment forced their barricadoes, we raised ourselves under favour of this effort ; and the enemies seeing us masters of the barricade, thought of nothing but retreating, after having set fire to it, for fear that, by pursuing them too closely, we should enter pel-mel with them into the city.

We lodged ourselves in the finest houses of the suburb, where we found at the same time commodiousness and abundance. The only inconvenience we suffered, was from the small shot of the place, which, from the terrass of the grand gate, commanded the whole street, and made the entrance to the King's and our own houses very dangerous ; and the batteries upon the ramparts commanding all the avenues of this suburb, it was impossible to enter it without being exposed to continual discharges.

charges. One day, as I crossed the street, going from my own house to that of the King, which was the most beautiful in the suburb, a ball battered against my headpiece, just as Liberge, my valet de chambre, came up to fasten it. I caused a rope to be instantly fastened across the street, and, by means of some cloaths that were hung over it, prevented the besieged from seeing at least comers and goers.

We afterwards applied ourselves without remission to the trenching and the sap. The King of Navarre took incredible pains in this siege: he conducted the miners himself, after he had taken all the necessary precautions against the supplies that might arrive from without. The bridges, avenues, and all the roads that led to the city, were strictly guarded, as likewise great part of the country. One night, when I was upon guard with twenty horse, at the ford of a river, I heard the noise of horses and irons at a distance, which left me no room to doubt but I should be instantly attacked. This noise ceased for some minutes, then began again with more violence, and was heard so near, that I put myself upon the defensive. I suffered the troop to approach, in order to give them a close fire: but when we were just ready to discharge, I perceived that what had given me so great an alarm was only a herd of horses and mares, which had been wandering all over this plain, and came to water at the river. I was the first to laugh at this adventure; but inwardly I was not sorry that I had given orders to the person whom I pitched upon to go for assistance, not to depart till we should be engaged in fight.

At this siege, my principal employment was to conduct the artillery. The sap was at last so far advanced, that we could hear the voice of the soldiers who guarded the parapets, within the lodgment

ment of the miners. It was the King of Navarre who perceived this first. He spoke, and made himself known to the besieged; who were so astonished at hearing him name himself from the bottom of these subterraneous places, that they demanded to capitulate. The propositions were all made by this strange way: the articles were drawn up, or rather dictated by the King of Navarre, the security of whose word was known so thoroughly to the besieged, that they did not require a writing. They had no cause for repentance: the King of Navarre, charmed with the nobleness of this procedure, granted the garrison all honours, and preserved the city from pillage.

A woman of the city having killed a fat hog the same day that they had capitulated, hearing that the garrison had surrendered, imagined a pleasant stratagem, to conceal the prey from the avidity of the soldiery. She made her husband hide himself, and wrapping the dead animal in a sheet, laid it, by the help of some friends, in a coffin, and by her cries drew all her neighbours together. The lugubrious apparel of a funeral, instructed them in the subject that the pretended widow had to lament at such a rate. The priests were deceived as well as others: one of them conducted the procession across the suburbs, into a church-yard without the city, with the permission of the King of Navarre. The ceremonies being performed, and the night being come, people posted by this woman near the grave, came to take up the dead, and were just ready to carry it into the city; when they were perceived by some soldiers, who driving them from thence, discovered the truth, and seized the prey. One may well imagine the secret was not kept; it was already no longer one in the city: a priest, to whom this woman, pressed with remorse of conscience,

had opened herself, spread the adventure every where.

The King of Navarre leaving the Lord of La-Boulaye governor in this place, went to take the abbey of Maillezais, the situation of which he found so advantageous, that he conceived a design of forming it a regular fortress. He ordered me to draw a plan; and Davailles, a relation of La-Boulaye, was appointed to guard it. His troops moreover seized Mauleon, and after that the castle of La-Garnache; from whence M. de Genevois* drove his own mother. She retired to Beauvois, a small town upon the sea-coast, whither her son still pursued her; but he fell at this time into her hands himself, and she in her turn made him prisoner of war.

I was not present at these sieges: the sorrowful news I received from Rosny obliged me to go thither. During my stay at St Maur, I obtained a protection for my castle and estate of Rosny, and all the passports that were necessary for my going thither when I should think proper. It was this that made me easy with regard to my wife, at a time when all sorts of outrages against the Protestants were authorised. I learned that this town was at that time almost totally depopulated by the plague: my wife had there lost the greatest part of her domestics; and fear had obliged her to fly into a neighbouring forest, where she had passed two

* D'Aubigné (vol. 3. b. 1. c. 10.) explains this better. The lady of La-Garnache, says he, sister to the Duke of Rohan, held the city of La-Garnache, and the castle of Beauvois upon the sea, in neutrality. Her son, called *the Prince of Genevois*, upon a pretence of his mother's marriage with the Duke of Nemours, seized La-Garnache, by means of a correspondence he held with the domestics. He made the same attempt upon Beauvois; but he found himself the prisoner of his mother. The result of all this was, that the King of Navarre interesting himself in procuring his liberty, obtained it, and by the same means the place, &c.

days and two nights in her coach. She had afterwards taken refuge in the castle of Huet, belonging to Madame de Champagnac, my aunt, which is not far distant. The joy which she felt to know I was so near her, gave way to her fears of the danger I incurred by coming amongst persons infected with the plague; and she thought to force me to return, by ordering the gates of the castle to be shut upon me. She had too much need of succour and consolation to be abandoned in this state. I entered, notwithstanding her resistance, and staid a month in this house, having only two gentlemen and two domestics with me, and breathing the air of the country in freedom; for the report of the plague kept from my house all the importunate. I was not wholly useless to the King of Navarre all this while: my wood-merchants still owed me 24,000 livres, and I pressed for the payment of it. The persecution that opened against all Protestants, left me at their mercy; and the fear lest this money, together with all my estates, should be confiscated for the use of the league, obliged me to content myself with 10,000 livres.

As soon as the contagion ceased, I carried my wife back to Rosny, after having taken the necessary precautions to purify the house; and I quitted her upon the report, that the Duke of Joyeuse, whose march had hitherto been slow, and his operations inconsiderable, was advancing hastily, to drive the King of Navarre from Poitou. This prince had just then been repulsed before Niort and Parthenai; and finding himself unable to keep all his fortresses against forces so superior, he caused the greatest part of them to be rased and dismantled, and preserved only Fontenai, Talmont, Maillezais, and St Maixant, retreating to Rochelle, where I found him.

The treaty of alliance between the two Kings,
which

which was mentioned above, seeming to promise quite another thing, the reader, doubtless, is impatient to know the success. It was no longer in the question; in one moment all was overthrown. The procedure of the court had something in it very singular. It would be a mystery absolutely incomprehensible, if one did not know of what variations a prince is capable, who abandons himself to irresolution, timidity, and sloth. In matters of state, nothing is worse than this spirit of indetermination. One must not in these difficult conjunctures abandon all, nor refuse all to hazard; but after having chosen an end by wise and cool reflections, all the steps that one makes ought to tend to arrive at it. One cannot indeed too dearly buy, nor press too much a necessary peace; but in critical circumstances, nothing ought to be more carefully avoided, than keeping the minds of a people in suspense, between peace and war. It was not by such maxims that Catharine's counselors conducted themselves; if they formed any resolution, it was only momentary, but never final; and in so timid a manner was it always formed, that it did not remedy even the present evil but most imperfectly. The fault of all minds taken up in little frivolous intrigues, and, in general, of all those who have more vivacity than judgment, is to represent to themselves that which is near, in a manner that dazzles them; and not to see at a distance what is through a cloud. A few moments, a few days, are what they call futurity.

To this fault of never being able to come to a decision, the King, or rather the Queen-mother, added another to crown all *. It was the using I

* It has been affirmed, that the interest of the true religion had no part in the politics of this Queen. Witness these words which she was heard to say, when she thought the battle of Dreux was lost, "Well! we must pray to God then in French!"

know not what little affected dissimulation, or rather a miserable study of doubleness and deception, without which she imagined there could be no politics. The first of these errors concealing from us the evil which threatened us, and the other tying the hands of those who might have assisted us to prevent it; what could we expect if it was not to be overwhelmed sooner or latter? It was this that happened to Henry III.; for not being able to resolve to make use of the remedy that was offered him, I mean the junction of his troops with those of the King of Navarre, in order to repel vigorously the enemies of his authority. It was requisite to engage him in this, (for he did resolve upon it in the end), that he should see himself in an extremity which might have been as fatal to the royal name, as shameful to the memory of this prince.

Catharine had recourse to her ordinary artifices, and thought she performed a great deal, because she travelled a great deal. She went to Poitou, and conferred many times with the King of Navarre * at Coignac, Saint-Brix, and Saint Maixant. Sometimes she sought to seduce him, at other times to make him tremble at the sight of the considerable forces that were ready to pour upon him, and whose operations, she told him, she had

* The Queen asking him what he would have? he replied, looking at the young ladies she had brought with her, "There is no thing here, Madam, that I would have." *Peref. Matthieu* (vol. i. b. 8. p. 518) adds, that Catharine pressing him to make some overture, "Madam," said he, "there is no overture here for me." This interview was at St Brix, Sept. 25. He was hunting one day at St Brix, and wanting to shew that his horse was more lively than two very fine ones belonging to Bellièvre, a herd of pigs behind a hedge frightened his horse, who threw himself over upon him. He remained senseless, bleeding at the nose and mouth. They carried him like one dead to the castle. However, two or three days after he was not to be seen there. *Mem. of Nevers*, vol. 2. p. 523.

hitherto suspended. In a word, she forgot nothing that she thought might induce him to change his religion. It may well be believed, that it was not without regret she saw the league in a condition to oppress the King of Navarre, because it was not her interest that this should happen. But what security did she give this prince, by the rash and unseasonable measures in which she wanted to engage him? Had he not reason to believe, that this proposal of abjuring his religion, which she was incessantly laying before him, was not, at bottom, but an artful snare to deprive him of the assistance of the Protestants, to make him countermand the troops that came to him from Germany, to draw him to court, to ruin him, and, after him, all his adherents? I had particularly proofs that justified this thought. The conferences at which I was present with the King, not affording me the means of clearing my suspicions, I held private ones, by his orders, with the Ladies D'Uzes and De Sauves, who were better acquainted with Catharine's inclinations than any other persons: and by whom I was so much beloved, that they always called me their son. The better to know their thoughts, I feigned to be assured of what I did only conjecture, and complained that the Queen-mother sought by all manner of means to sacrifice the King of Navarre to the league. These two ladies confessed to me in confidence, that they believed religion served Catharine only for a pretence, and that things were in such a state, that the King of Navarre must no longer think of getting out but sword-in-hand. They assured me afterwards, that they saw with a good deal of uneasiness the bad dispositions of the council towards this prince. These words I have always believed to be sincere, although spoke in a court where, next to gallantry, falsehood was the principal study.

Whatever

Whatever were the Queen-mother's intentions *, she returned without having obtained any thing; and Joyeuse with an army came to occupy her place. The conduct of an army intrusted to Joyeuse was a second mystery. Was it to mortify the heads of the league, who had pretensions there, or to ruin them outright, if the new general had succeeded? Was it, on the contrary, the discovery of his connections with the league, that induced the King to give him a place, wherein he was assured this ungrateful man would perish, or at least miscarry? Or was it only to remove a favourite, whom a new comer had deprived of the good graces of the King? for it is often a mere bagatelle, a nothing, that produces the effects, which we are always willing to attribute to motives the most grave. Was it not rather to inhance the lustre of his favour by a post the most honourable? Such was the spirit of the court, that conjectures, even the most opposite, were supported by equal probabilities? One thing however which seems to determine in favour of the last, is, that the army which Joyeuse commanded was composed of the principal forces of the kingdom, that it was eminently filled with the flower of the nobility, and abundantly provided with all that could render it victorious.

The King of Navarre employed himself principally in putting St Maixant in a condition of defence: he went thither with so much precipitation, that, sinking under his watching and fatigue, he was obliged, in his return to Rochelle, to throw

* After a long conversation, the Queen-mother asking him if the trouble she had been at was to produce no other fruit to her who wished nothing more than repose; he replied, " Madam, I am not the cause of it; it is not I who hinders you from sleeping in your bed, it is you that prevents me from resting in mine; the trouble you give yourself, pleases and nourishes you; peace is the greatest enemy of your life." *Peref. part. 1.*

himself into a waggon drawn by oxen, where he slept as in the most elegant bed. To spare the provisions with which he had stored Saint-Maixant, he had ordered the two regiments of Charbonnières and Des Bories, named to defend it, to post themselves at La-Motte Saint-Eloi, and there to expect the enemy's arrival. All this could not prevent the reduction of this last place, and of its castle, nor that of St Maixant, Maillezais, and many others, any more than the defeat of several companies, among others that belonging to Despueilles, which was beat almost in sight of La-Rochelle. The cruel behaviour of the conquerors rendered these misfortunes still more sensible: all we could do in revenge, was to fall upon the waggons and the stragglers, during the marches of this army.

One day, as the Duke of Joyeuse led his army back again from Saintes to Niort, I posted myself with fifty horse in the forest of Benon, near the highway, seeking the occasion of striking some blow. A soldier mounted by my order to the top of a tree, to observe the order and motions of the enemy's army, told us, that he saw a detachment advancing at some interval from the first battalions. These who accompanied me were for falling upon this detachment, which might perhaps be subdued, before it could be succoured. I did not relish this proposal. I remembered a maxim of the King of Navarre's, That one rarely succeeded in attacking a party at the head of a whole army; and I restrained the ardour of my troop, who burned with desire to come to blows. We saw therefore this detachment pass by, and afterwards the whole army, the battalions of which we could easily count. The last ranks marched so close, that I was of opinion there was nothing to be done: but as we were ready to retreat, the sentinel informed us, that he saw two small squadrons of fifty or sixty horse each, marching

marching at a great distance from each other. I wanted still to have suffered the first to pass by; but it was impossible now to restrain the troop. We fell upon the first, and routed them; twelve or fifteen were left dead upon the place, we took as many prisoners, and the rest saved themselves as they could. But what regret did I not feel for not having followed my own opinion, when I learned that this second troop was composed of fifty of the principal officers of the Catholic army, with the Duke of Joyeuse himself at their head, who had stopped at Surgeres, to refresh himself with a collation! When I gave the King of Navarre an account of this action, he told me smiling, that he perceived very well I was willing to spare the Duke's squadron, in favour to my two brothers who were with him. One of them having a desire to see La-Rochelle, I obtained a passport for him, and conducted him every where. I had myself occasion to take a tour to Niort, where the enemy's army lay, to agree upon terms of a combat that had been proposed between the Albanois of Capt. Mercure's company, and a like number of Scots under the command of Wymes; but the Duke of Joyeuse would not permit it to be executed.

I found this general gloomy and disquieted. I guessed so truly the cause of his uneasiness, that when he told me, that he was on the point of going as far as Montresor, I did not hesitate to answer with an air meant to increase his suspicions, that from thence he could go very easily as far as the court. At these words he turned towards my brother, as accusing him of having revealed what had passed. Tho' he knew that there was nothing in it, he imagined his disgrace was certain, since the report of it had already reached Rochelle; and it was this, I believe, that confirmed him in his resolution to go and destroy, by his presence, the

cabals of his illwillers. He concealed his sentiments, however, and answered coldly, that I suffered myself to be deceived by my too great discernment. He endeavoured to persuade me, that he had no intentions of returning to Paris. I was so well assured of the contrary, that I went back immediately to the King of Navarre, to concert with him proper measures for availing ourselves of his absence, which would leave the Catholic army without leaders: for I did not doubt but a part of the general officers would take this journey likewise: in effect, Joyeuse was no sooner set out than his whole army, already badly disciplined enough, lived without rule and without obedience.

The King of Navarre, who had secretly assembled 1200 men, drawn out of his garrisons, fell so seasonably upon the companies of Vic, of Bellemaniere, the Marquis of Resnel, Ronsoy, and Pienne, and even upon that of the Duke of Joyeuse, that finding part of them in bed, and part at table, he cut them all in pieces. He oftener than once alarmed the whole army, which remained under the command of Lavardin. He followed it to La-Haye in Touraine, and found means to keep it, as it were, besieged during four or five days. If on this occasion he had had forces sufficient to have enabled him to keep his post longer, I believe, that hunger would have delivered the whole army into his power. The soldiers spreading themselves over the villages, and exposing themselves every where to procure provisions, we passed the river, and surprised them every moment.

In this little time, we killed and took above 600 men. With six horses only, I went into a village full of soldiers: they were so accustomed to be beaten, that I ordered the arms of those who were at the tables, and upon the beds, to be seized, and their matches to be put out, without their offering

to repulse us, although they were about forty in number. I brought them to the King of Navarre and they inlisted in his troops.

The Count of Soissons, who had long been discontented with the court, gave the King of Navarre hopes, that he would come over to his party; and this prince neglected nothing that could keep him in this disposition. The negligence of the Catholic army furnishing an occasion, such as both the one and the other waited for, the Count of Soissons took the road towards the Loire, and the King of Navarre sent all his troops to Rosiers, to facilitate this prince's passage over the river. They served him likewise to seize the baggage of the Duke de Mercœur. The great convoy that escorted it, was attacked so suddenly near a bank, that they surrendered without striking a blow, and the baggage, which was extremely rich, was entirely pillaged. My part of the booty amounted to 2000 crowns. My brothers were no longer in this army; I had obtained a passport for them to leave La-Haye.

This service did not remain without recompense: they procured me from the court a passport to Paris, whither a pressing occasion called me. At this time the persecution against the Protestants was at the height. On which side soever they turned, they saw nothing but open abysses. In the villages, where all became soldiers for the sake of pillage, their houses could not secure them from the fury of their persecutors. In Paris, and the great cities, they were exposed to rigorous searches, which the zeal of religion inspired, and the desire of being enriched by their spoils made but too cruelly executed. Princes will often see themselves subjected to misfortunes like these, the greatest that can befall a kingdom, so long as they will not know how far their rights and duties extend in this respect. They cannot beyond measure be enraged at any kind of

action by which nature, society, or the laws, are wounded *. A religion capable of authorising such actions, becomes necessarily an object of the rigour of their justice ; and in this only instance is religion subjected to the power of crowned heads ; but their power is not extended to the internal sentiments of consciences. In the precept of love to God, the different apprehensions of which form the diversity of religions, the Sovereign Master reserves to himself whatever reaches not beyond speculation, and leaves to princes all that tends to destroy common practice. The ignorance or the contempt of this maxim, was the cause that the Reformed led an unhappy life. They whose estates were large enough to admit of their living in Paris, chose that as the least dangerous way, because of the facility with which they could keep themselves unknown in a city so confused and so tumultuous.

My wife had retired thither some time, having

* It is true, it has never been demonstrated, that religion obliges sovereigns to persecute those who make profession of another faith ; but this does not hinder the maxims which the Duke of Sully establishes here from being very dangerous, in that they seem to discharge kings from that indispensable obligation they are under to preserve the true religion ; an obligation which includes that of making the worship, and all the exterior practices of it, to be exactly observed ; which is equally conformable to the principles of a wise policy, as to those of religion ; a fatal experience having but too well shewn, that it is much more necessary to prevent all disputes upon matters of religion, than to silence them when they are begun. After the confession M. de Sully so often makes in his Memoirs, of that spirit of revolt and independence which conducted all the steps of the Calvinist party in France, it is strange that he is not sensible, that, according to his own maxims, this body deserved to suffer all the rigour of the law. This place, in my opinion, sufficiently justifies what I have said in the preface to this work, that it is more proper to relate all the author's sentiments in theology, than to suppress them. It is not possible to understand his meaning here on the subject of charity. Obscurity is generally a proof of false principles, and weak reasoning. — *This note is suppressed in the Geneva edition. It evidently favours persecution, and shews it was written by a Roman Catholic.*

used

used the precaution to take a borrowed name : to her was added, besides the common misfortunes, that of being far advanced in her pregnancy, during which she wanted all kinds of conveniencies. When I supposed she drew near her time, the fear of all that might happen to her in this condition, was what induced me to take a journey to Paris. I found her just delivered of a son, to whom I gave for godfather the Lord of Rueres, then a prisoner in the gaol of the parliament, and the child was carried from the baptismal font to church, by a citizen named *Chaufaille* and his wife ; for the worship and assemblies of the Protestants were not suspended, for all the severe informations that were made against them. At this time there were several women burnt for this cause : The dangers I ran myself were very great ; and I avoided them only by the surprising happiness of not being known.

At last the number of spies increasing in all parts of the city, the search was so diligent, that nothing could escape. I did not think it possible to stay any longer in Paris, without exposing myself to evident peril. I left it therefore alone, and in disguise, and fled to Villepreux ; from whence I took a by-road to Rosny.

The Duke of Joyeuse had been received in Paris with praises and acclamations, which ought to have made him blush in secret for not having deserved them better. They did not, however, hinder him from being sensibly affected with the defeat of his army, of which he was speedily informed. He endeavoured, by all possible means, to make satisfaction for this loss, which, in the disposition the King was in with regard to him, was not a difficult task. His arrival had disconcerted all the intrigues of his enemies, and his favour with Henry was risen to such a height, that he could refuse him nothing.

All the courtiers attached themselves to him*; and he set out again for Guienne, with the flower of the French nobility; while many other bodies of troops, taking separate ways, assembled at the rendezvous he had appointed for them.

These different marches of the troops having made the roads less safe, I found no other means of returning to Rochelle, but by accommodating the date of my passport, which was expired. By this chicanery I got safe to the King of Navarre, whom I found employed in taking measures to prevent the dreadful storm he saw ready to burst upon him. He drew together all the soldiers he could find in Poitou, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, and sent orders to the Prince of Condé, the Count of Soissons, Mess. de Turenne, de la Trémouille, and Rochefoucault, to join him with all the forces they had. With all these supplies, his troops were greatly inferior to those of the Duke de Joyeuse. They only served to put him a condition of opening a way through Guienne, Languedoc, and the Lyonnois, towards the source of the Loire, where he reckoned upon meeting the German auxiliaries. He made use of his utmost endeavours to accomplish this junction, before the troops of Joyeuse were all joined. This prince, therefore, advanced with his army towards Montlieu, Montguyon, and La-Roche-Chalais, but always closely followed and watched by the enemy's general, who having penetrated into his design, thought he ought not to wait for the arrival of the Marechal de Matignon, nor of several other regiments that were coming to join him, lest he should suffer an occasion to escape

* In his embassy to Rome, he was treated as the King's brother; he had a heart worthy of his ample fortune. One day having made the two secretaries of state wait too long in the King's antichamber, he excused himself by resigning up to them a donation of 100,000 crowns which the King had just given him. *Notes on the Henriade.*

him, which he might never be able to recover. His forces were already so much superior to the King of Navarre's, that this determination could not be accused of temerity; and the King, who never hazarded a signal action, but when forced to it by necessity, instead of seeking the battle, thought of nothing but how to get the river between them, that he might pursue his march without obstacle, and gain the Dordogne, upon which he had places commodious enough for putting a stop to the pursuit of the enemies.

With these dispositions on both sides, the King of Navarre arrived at the passage of Chalais and Aubeterre. The post of Coutras appeared of importance to him, for facilitating this passage. It appeared of no less importance to Joyeuse, for retarding it. He sent Lavardin to possess himself of it; but La Trémouille, being more diligent, prevented him, and maintained himself in it, after a skirmish sharp enough. The King of Navarre resolved to take advantage of this post to attempt the passage, and made us endeavour it all night. He reserved to himself the care of transporting the troops, and left that of the baggage, particularly the artillery, conjointly to Clermont, Bois-du-Lys, Mignonville, and me. As it was necessary to make use of all possible dispatch, we set ourselves to work immediately, having the water up to our knees. One half was already got to the other side of the river, when the scouts, whom the King of Navarre had sent during the night to make discoveries, returned with some prisoners they had taken, and informed us, that Joyeuse, resolute to attempt every thing to force the King of Navarre to a battle, had de-camped about ten o'clock at night, and would be up with him at furthest by seven or eight in the morning. This intelligence convinced the King that our labour was not only useless, but very dangerous;

ous ; because, if found by the enemy employed in passing the river, that part of his troops which should remain on this side of it must be inevitably routed, as it could receive no assistance from the troops on the other. Those who had already got over, were ordered to return immediately. Our labour was now redoubled, and to add to it, he deprived us of Mignonville *, for whom he had occasion. Although we were extremely weakened by the fatigue we had suffered, yet that did not hinder the King from pointing out to me an eminence, upon which he expressed a wish that his artillery could have been placed, but durst not hope that we should have time to gain it. In effect, we already discovered the enemy's van. Luckily Joyeuse, who without doubt was not sufficiently acquainted with the ground, or suffered himself to be too much transported by his ardour, had given orders for fixing his artillery in a place so low, that afterwards finding it would be useless, he caused it to be removed, and by that means gave us a space of time, of which we were wise enough to avail ourselves, to place our own. It must be confessed, that this general, after all that he did, drew almost no service from his artillery ; and this doubtless was one of the chief causes of his losing the battle. This shews, that there is nothing more necessary for the general of an army, than an exact and piercing sight, which shortens distances, and prevents confusion. I never knew a general that possessed this quality in an equal degree with the King of Navarre †.

The

* Mignonville, who was slain soon after, before Nonancour, when Henry IV. stormed that city. He was marechal de camp, and an excellent officer. Henry had a great number of subaltern officers of uncommon merit and abilities in his army ; such were Montgommery, Bellezuns, Montausier, Vaudoré, Des-Ageaux, Favas, whom the historians, in speaking of this battle, have mentioned with honour.

† Le Grain makes him pronounce this military harangue to his soldiers,

The battle * was already begun, before our artillery, which consisted only of three pieces of cannon, was fixed; and we had soon occasion for it. The quarter of M. de Turenne, whose troops behaved very ill, and that of La-Trémouille, had been forced the first shock, which was beginning to throw the whole army into disorder. The Catholics cried out Victory; and indeed they wanted but little of being victorious in reality. But at this very moment our artillery began to play; and so terrible was the fire †, that every discharge carried away twelve, fifteen, and sometimes five and twenty men. It put a stop immediately to the impetuosity of the enemy, and galled them so much, that, to avoid the fire, they dispersed, and offered only an ill-compacted and ill-sustained body to the efforts of the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Count of Soissons, who had come together at the head of three squadrons. These three princes ‡ performed prodigies of valour; they overthrew all that

soldiers. “My friends, behold here a prey much more considerable than any of your former booties; it is a new married man, who has still the nuptial portion in his coffers, and all the choice of courtiers is with him.” *Dec. of Henry the Great, book 4.*

* It began Oct. 20. at nine in the morning, and ended at ten. The victory was complete; 5000 of the enemy were left dead upon the place, and 500 taken prisoners. In the King of Navarre’s army there was but a very small number of soldiers slain, and not one person of distinction. See the historians. Father Daniel (vol. 9. 4^o.) gives an exact description of the battle of Coutras. I would fain have transcribed the whole article here.

† The first fire of the artillery, says Le Grain (book 4.) carried off seven captains of the regiment of Picardy, the best and most warlike in the Duke’s army.

‡ All I shall say to you, said the King of Navarre to them, is, that you are of the house of Bourbon, and, as God lives, I will shew you, that I am your eldest brother. — His valour was that day far superior to that of all others. He wore a plume of white feathers on his helmet, to make himself remarkable. Some throwing themselves before him, to defend and cover his person, he cried, “Stand off, I beseech

that opposed them, and advanced victorious over the bodies of the dead. Their armour was all battered with blows. In a moment all was changed, and the death of the Catholic general * secured to the Protestants a complete victory.

As soon as I beheld the enemy fly, I abandoned the cannon as useless, and mounting my horse which Bois-breuil kept ready for me behind the artillery, I flew to learn tidings of my brothers; and I had the consolation to hear, that neither of the two had been in the battle. I met the King of Navarre busy in dispersing the fugitives †, and completing his victory, which he did not think sure so long as any remained to make head against him. The bodies of Joyeuse and St Sauveur his brother, were drawn from under a heap of carcases, and laid upon a table in the hall of the castle of Coutras, and a coarse sheet thrown over them ‡.

B O O K

" beseech you; do not eclipse me; I would be seen." He forced the first ranks of the enemy, took several prisoners with his own hand, and collared one named *Château-Regnard*, cornet of a company of foot, saying, " Yield thee, Philistine." *Peref. ib.*

* Slain in cold blood, by La Mothe St Henry; others say, by two captains of foot, named *Bordeaux* and *Descentiers*.

† Some persons seeing the fugitives halt, came and told him, that the Marechal de Matignon's army appeared: he received the tidings as a new subject of glory, and turning courageously to his men, " Let us go, my friends," said he: " two battles in one day, is what has never been seen."

‡ The following is an anecdote, the truth of which I cannot answer for. However, the reader may not be displeased to see it. It is to be found in the *Memoirs of Amelot de la Houffaye*, vol. 2. p. 443. who relates it as drawn from the history of the lords of Enghien, by Collins. " The King of Navarre," says this author, " gained the victory, to the great satisfaction of the King of France, who secretly corresponded with the victorious army, through the faithful interposition of the Marquis of Rosny, of the house of Bethune, now Duke of Sully, who remained unknown at Paris." This author seems to have been acquainted with the Duke of Sully's secret negotiations with Henry III. already mentioned: but he is mistaken

B O O K III.

THAT the Protestant party might have derived great advantages from the victory of Coutras, and that they did not derive any, is equally true. I am sincere enough to confess, that the King of Navarre did not, upon this occasion, do all he might have done. If, with an army victorious and master of the field he had advanced to meet the foreign auxiliaries, nothing could have prevented their junction; and, after a stroke so important, his party would have been equal at least to the Catholics. It is certain, that one never knows all the value of a moment: the wisest are deceived in this *. The ambitious designs and interested views of some of the chiefs of the victorious army, snatched from the King of Navarre the fruits of his victory; but this is a truth few people are acquainted with.

The Prince of Condé, seduced by the advice of Trémouille, thought the time was at last come, when he could execute the hardy project he had long premeditated, which was to dismember the crown of France of Anjou, Poitou, the countries of Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, to compose of them for himself an independent principality. With this view, he hastily withdrew all the troops

in this, that these negotiations produced no effect, since the Duke of Joyeuse was still in high favour with this prince, at least if we may believe M. de Sully, who ought to know better than any other: and that Sully could not be at Paris, because he was at the battle; and that even the last journey he took there, some time before, had no other motive than the desire of seeing and assisting his wife.

* Our best historians are equally agreed in these two things, that the King of Navarre knew not how to avail himself of this victory, and that this was not entirely owing to himself. D'Aubigné is almost the only person who exculpates all his officers, and lays the blame wholly upon the prince himself. *Vol. 3. b. 1. c. 15.*

he

he had brought to the general army, and turned all his thoughts to make himself master of Saintes and Brouage; which he imagined he would carry easily upon the first alarm; after which he saw nothing that could be able to resist him. For ambition resembles the bird in the fable, who has a strong wing, and an insatiable appetite *.

The

* The Duke of Sully does not agree here with D'Aubigné, Du-Plessis-Mornay, and the author of the life of the Duke of Bouillon. It is probable he had better memoirs than them all, with regard to the design he attributes to the Prince and the Duke on this occasion; but I am afraid there was some prejudice and passion on his side. In my opinion, M. de Thou is better able than any other person, to decide this question. Speaking of the consequences of the battle of Contras, he says, that a council being assembled, to deliberate upon what measures were necessary to be taken, the Prince of Condé proposed, that they should go to meet the foreign troops along the side of the Loire, and secure them a passage over this river, by seizing Saumur; that this advice was not followed, for reasons which he relates, and which are very bad; and it was agreed only, that the Prince of Condé should go, with what troops they could spare him, to join to the German army towards the source of the Loire, taking his way through the heart of Angoumois and Limosin. That the King of Navarre, on his side, seeing himself abandoned by the greatest part of the nobility of Poitou and Saintonge, marched towards St Foi in Agenois, from whence he took the route to Pau, leaving the conduct of his little army to the Viscount de Turenne; who not willing to let the soldiers be idle, besieged Sarlat in Perigord, designing at least to lay it under contribution, if he could not take it. This is what De Thou says: to which may be added, a very important circumstance, and at the same time a very true one, since neither the Duke of Bouillon, nor his apologists, could contradict it; which is, that it was the Viscount himself who rejected the Prince of Condé's prudent advice. From all this it follows, that the Prince of Condé was not guilty of what he is here accused of: which is further confirmed by D'Aubigné, who adds, that it was upon a promise the King of Navarre made him to join him soon, that he advanced to Angoumois, where he waited a long time to no purpose. The Prince, however, is not cleared of having had likewise views of independence, of which no historian doubts.

Although the Viscount Turenne appears to have acted upon this occasion in consequence of the resolution of a general council; yet, in my opinion, we are not the less authorised to think disadvantageously of him. It is bad reasoning in Marsolier, to grant on one side, that he was instigated by his ambition to wicked designs, and, on the other

The Viscount Turenne, with similar designs upon the Limosin and Perigord, where he already possessed great estates, pursued the same conduct with the Prince of Condé ; and obliging all his troops (which alone composed one third of the army) to follow him, led them to the siege of Sarlat, flattering them that this expedition would enrich even the meanest soldier. He perfectly justified the proverb, that great promisers perform the least : the check he received before this little paltry town, ought to have convinced him timeously of the vanity of his pretensions. The Viscount had the misfortune not to be pitied by any, and least of all by the King of Navarre ; for he had acted quite contrary to his advice.

The Count of Soissons concealed his designs more artfully : however, it is certain, that his new attachment to the King of Navarre was not more sincere, and had been dictated solely by self-interest. He had gained the heart of the Princess Catherine, the King's sister, and he was continually expressing to this prince, the passion he had of uniting himself yet more closely to him by marriage ; but this design concealed another too shameful for him to suffer it to be perceived. He pretended by this marriage to supplant the King of Navarre in all his rights ; and as he saw no probability that this prince, having the Pope, Spain, and the French Catholics for

other side, to complain, that those designs are supposed the motives of his conduct. This is to destroy the idea he would give us of the Duke of Bouillon, as of the greatest politician of his time. These rash judgments are condemned by religion, but are allowed by the laws of history ; and political conjectures are often reduced to this foundation alone.

As for what has been said in the same place against the Count of Soissons, it is, and will be still more supported hereafter by unanswerable proof. *De Thou, book 87. ; Mem. of Du Plessis, book 1. ; D'Aubigné, vol. 3. book 1. chap. 15. ; Marsolier's history of Henry Duke of Bouillon, vol. 1. book 3.*

his declared enemies, should ever succeed in his enterprises, he reckoned upon enriching himself with his spoils, and upon gaining, at least, the great estates which make up the appennage of the house of Albret on this side the Loire. Such being his intention, he took care neither to assist him with his advice, or his arm, to pursue his last victory : on the contrary, he seized that moment to press him so earnestly to allow him to go to Bearn to visit the Princess his sister, that the King, seeing himself in a more forlorn condition than if he had lost the battle, thought he was obliged, in gratitude for the assistance the Count had given him, to grant him this satisfaction. He himself was also dragged thither (and the Count was not ignorant of it), by a passion which had always been the weakness of this prince. Love called him back to the Countess of Guiche, to lay at her feet the colours taken from the enemy, which he had caused to be set apart for that purpose. Accordingly they took the road together to Bearn. Happily this unseasonable journey did not produce all the disadvantages that might have been reasonably feared from it : it was so far of use to the King of Navarre, as to give him a more particular knowledge of the person on whom he was upon the point of bestowing his sister. The Count of Soissons could not so well dissemble, but that the King guessed at some part of his sentiments ; and a letter, which he received from Paris, perfectly revealed them. By this he learned, that the Count of Soissons had taken this step purely at the instigation of the ecclesiastics, who had devised this artifice to deprive him of all his possessions : that the Count had solemnly sworn to them, as soon as he had married the Princess, he would bring her with him to Paris, and abandon for ever the party of his benefactor, and afterwards concert measures with them to accomplish the rest. This letter, which the King of Navarre

varre received at his return from hunting, when he was just ready to fall into the snare that was laid for him, gave him an aversion for the Count, which nothing was ever able to efface. He broke with him, and regretted too late, that he had abandoned himself to his counsel.

I had not the mortification to be a witness of all those resolutions which were taken after the battle of Coutras, and which I should in vain have opposed. Some days after the battle, before these foolish reflections had poisoned all their minds, the King of Navarre took me aside, in a garden, and asked my opinion concerning the condition into which this last action had put his affairs. I told him, that he must, without loss of time, march with all his forces towards the source of the Loire, to receive the foreign supplies, or, what would be the same thing, facilitate their passage, by taking possession of all the towns on this side of the river; which, unless it were Poitiers and Angoulême, which he might leave, seemed to me not difficult to be won. By this means he would at least secure to himself, in all events, the finest and best provinces, from whence he could not be driven in a short time, or by inconsiderable forces.

The King of Navarre approved of this advice, and seemed to me determined to follow it exactly. He told me, that he had just sent Montglat to the foreign army, and that since he could not go to put himself at the head of it, he ardently wished the Prince of Conti would accept of that charge. He had just received letters from this prince, in which he offered to assist him in person. The pretence of going to join the remains of the royal army, might enable the Prince of Conti to reach the auxiliaries without danger. The King then left to me the care of prevailing upon the Prince to take this step, and commanded me not to give it over.

I set out from the army, charged only with a letter of three lines, and sending my equipage to Pons, passed into the Maine, where I expected to have found the Prince, by means of the acquaintance I had with the governors of those places thro' which he must pass. I learned, at my arrival, that the Prince of Conti had set out by himself two days before, but had not been able to keep his route so secret, but that his intelligence with the foreigners was perceived; which was the cause that the roads were still infested by detachments that were sent after him. I was therefore obliged to take a circuit, in order to join him, and to pass by Rosny; from whence coming to Neaufle, I was there informed, that the Germans engaged without order, and without guides, in provinces unknown, stopped by large rivers, and harassed incessantly by the troops of the league, had at length been totally defeated at Auneau*: that the Swiss, to avoid the like misfortune, had enlisted, to the number of 12,000, in the troops of the league: that the King of Navarre was at Bearn, his troops inactive, and dispersed on all sides.

This sad news shortening my journey, and frustrating my commission, nothing now remained for

* See the detail of this in De Thou, book 87. D'Aubigné, vol. 3. book 1. Matthieu, vol. 1. book 8. p. 537. Chron. Noven. vol. 1. p. 39. and particularly the Memoirs of the league, vol. 1. where it is observed, that at the time this army was incamped near the river Yonne, Montglat came from the King of Navarre, to desire the commanders of it would march towards the source of the Loire, where he would put himself at their head; but they did not think proper to do so. The leaders were the Baron d'Onau or Dona, Guitry, Clervant, Beauvais La-Nocle, &c. If they had obeyed this order, the King of Navarre, then returning from Bearn, would have had time to join them with all his troops, and the army would not have been defeated. Davila (book 8.) relates the Duke of Guise's reply to the Duke of Maïenne, who thought it a great risk to attack an enemy so much superior in number. "Those," said he, "that do not care to fight, may stay here. What I could not resolve upon in half an hour, I could never resolve upon all my life."

me to do, but to turn back to Rosny ; where, while I deplored in my heart the effects of so bad conduct ; I feigned, for my security, to take part in the public rejoicings that followed upon the defeat of Auneau. I visited my estates in Normandy, expecting the remedies which time, and the King of Navarre's return, might bring to our misfortunes : and when I was informed that this prince had returned from Bearn, I went to join him at Bergerac, where the news of the taking of Castillon consoled him a little, amidst so many subjects of affliction. The siege of this place had cost the Duke of Maienne a million of crowns, and the Viscount Turenne retook it * for less than two crowns.

A little afterwards, we were informed of two events that were likely enough to change the face of affairs. One of them was the death of the Prince of Condé †, a death as sudden as tragical, the imprisonment of some of his chief attendants, and the punishment of one of his domestics ‡, who was torn
to

* By means of a ladder of cords.

† Although there was a secret jealousy between the Prince of Condé and the King of Navarre, yet the King was extremely afflicted for his loss, and shutting himself up in his cabinet with the Count of Soissons, he was heard to send forth great cries, and to say, " That he had lost his right hand." *Prefixe, part 1.* This prince was called *Henry*, and was son to Lewis of Bourbon, first Prince of Condé. He had no children by his first wife ; but at his death he left his second, Charlotte Catherine de la Trémouille, three months gone with child. It was a great error which was spread among the people, that Henry of Condé, the second of that name, was born thirteen months after the death of his father. He was born the 1st of September following.

‡ The name of this domestic was *Brillant*. One of his pages was executed in effigy. The Princess herself was comprehended in this accusation. René Cumont, the lieutenant-particulier of St Jean, commenced a process against her, which was suspended on account of the birth of Henry II. Prince of Condé. After six years imprisonment, the Princess presented a petition to the parliament of Paris, who brought this affair before their tribunal, and acquitted Charlotte Catherine de la Trémouille of the crime of which she was accused.

to pieces by four horses, left no room to doubt but that he died by poison. The news of the populace * rising at Paris †, and barricading the streets, and of the King's departure from that city, followed

The Prince of Condé died at St Jean d'Angely, March 5. 1588, aged thirty-five years. *De Thou, book 90.* Morisot, I know not upon what authority, says, that the death of the Prince of Condé might be occasioned by a wound he received in his side, by a lance, at the battle of Coutras. *Henry Magn. cap. 12. p. 27.*

* Thursday, May 12.

† I shall not give a detail of it here, as it would be too long, and may besides be found in a great many other books. It is sufficient to say, that Henry III. to prevent the dangerous designs of the league, having ordered about 6000 troops, the most part Swiss, to enter Paris and spreading them in different quarters of the city, the people rose and being kept together by some of the chiefs of the league, fortified themselves in the streets, repulsed the soldiers, disarmed the Swiss, defeated the King's guards, and carried the barricades within fifty paces of the Louvre, &c. Henry III. seeing himself ready to be besieged in the Louvre, and not willing to expose himself to the violence of an enraged populace, went out privately by the Tuileries, and the suburb Montmartre, from whence he got to Chartres. The affair was afterwards turned into a negotiation between the Queen-mother and the Duke of Guise, and the absolute decision of it remitted to the states of Blois.

I observe, after D'Aubigné, that it was very fortunate for Henry III. that his troops seized and kept possession of the suburb St Honore, and the back of the Tuileries; and that no one of the league thought of seizing these quarters. Those who guarded the gate of Nesle fired at a distance upon the King's troops, and seeing the ferry-boat of the Tuileries approach, in which they supposed the King to be, cut the cable. *Chron. Noven. tom. 1.*

Henry III. was, on his side, guilty of a much greater fault, in forbidding Grillon, Colonel of the French guards, to take possession of the square Maubert, and the quarter of the university, and by hindering his soldiers from firing upon the populace; who, by a step more firm and seasonable, might have been retained in their duty. The Duke of Guise waited six whole days at Soissons, not daring to come to Paris, contrary to the King's orders, which were signified to him by Bellièvre, in two letters that he sent him at different times by the post. They were to blame, as Matthieu also observes, vol. 1. book 8. for not sending these letters by an express to the Duke of Guise; for the Duke imagined, that he might elude this order, by denying he had received the letters, as in effect he did at the Queen's palace, in the presence of the King and Bellièvre; to whom he protested, with deep oaths, that they were never delivered to him. This fault

ed soon after, and was spread every where by the courier, who was dispatched to give notice of it to the Duke of Epernon. To this shameful condition a King saw himself reduced, who knew neither how
to

fault was not committed through negligence, but because they had not 25 crowns to pay the courier for his journey.

Henry III. was advised by the Duke of Epernon, to suffer his guards to assassinate the Duke of Guise as he came to the Louvre; and this prince, they say, would have engaged La-Guesle and Villequier in the design, but they dissuaded from it. It is reported also, that the same day wherein the streets were barricaded, Alphonso d'Ornano assured him, he would bring him the head of the Duke of Guise, if he would permit him. In a word, it is thought, that the King did not make use of half the precautions he might have done, informed as he was of all the designs of the league, having himself narrowly missed being taken as he was going to Vincennes; and had just been convinced, by what had happened at the imprisonment of La-Morliere, a famous leaguer, that the people only waited for an opportunity of insulting him. The King's council acted without comparison better in that affair of La-Morliere, than on the day of the barricades. *Memoirs of the league, vol. 5. Satyr. Menip.*

The Duke's design in this enterprise has given rise to great disputes, which I cannot here enter into a detail of. In this, as in all other dubious matters, much has been said *pro* and *con*. Those who will have it, that he intended to carry, or suffer the people to carry things to an extremity, to seize the King's person, in a word, to put the crown upon his own head, support their assertions by some writings of great consequence, to which I am obliged to refer the reader. See *Memoirs of the league, vol. 1.* and the volume marked 8266. in the King's library. The chief of which are, A letter written to him by the Duchess of Lorraine, after the victory of Auneau, in which she advises him to make use of the present opportunity to declare himself King, &c. A letter written by the Duke himself the next day after the fortifications in the streets of Paris, to the governor of Orleans, wherein are these words: "I have vanquished the Swiss, cut in pieces part of the King's guards, and hold the Louvre so closely invested, that I shall be able to give a good account of those that are within. This victory is so great, that it will never be forgot," &c. Many other letters, in which he mentions the King very disrespectfully, and the princes of the blood with the utmost contempt. To this they add, the discontent the Duke discovered, and the reproaches he made the Queen-mother, for having amused him with conferences, while his prey escaped him. In fine, the writings that were, say they, published by his commands, wherein was attempted to be proved, the pretended right the house of Lorraine had to the crown, not to mention an infinite number of other pieces, which were
indeed

to prevent, to stifle, or to divide factions; who amused himself with conjecturing, when he ought to have acted; who never practised either prudence or firmness, nor was ever acquainted with those whom he

indeed but so many satirical libels against Francis Duke of Guise, reproaching him with having attempted to assert his chimerical claims upon Anjou and Provence; and the Cardinal his brother, with endeavouring to make himself sovereign of Metz, under the protection of the Emperor; a project which the vigilance of Salcede prevented the execution of; but he lost his head for it, and for having treated about religion with the King of Spain, at the council of Trent, without his master's participation. The greatest part of these writings are still in every body's hands.

For the Duke's justification they bring those arguments made use of by himself in a letter, or a sort of manifesto, which he drew up the same day, being the 13th of May. He there declares, that the report of the King's intention to fill the city with foreigners, and to fall upon the citizens with them, was the true cause of the populace rising; that, instead of supporting them, he had made use of his utmost endeavours, till two hours after midnight, to calm the tumult; that he had preserved the Swiss, and prevented the massacre; that he had intreated the rebels to respect the royal authority; and that, far from attempting any thing against the King's person, "I might," said he, "have seized him a thousand times, if I had been inclined to do so," &c. Add to this, that in treating with the Queen-mother, he required nothing but the destruction of the Protestants, and that religion should be secured; and declared likewise, that it was not in his own name he treated, but in that of the Cardinal of Bourbon, whose interests he supported against those of the King of Navarre, and the other princes of the blood.

I do not find it sufficiently proved against the Duke of Guise, that his design was to place himself upon the throne, after the death of Henry III. and the Cardinal of Bourbon; and this is very extraordinary. What ambitious man, and in his place, could have resisted the suggestions of the Pope, the King of Spain, and a great part of Europe, who all conspired for his elevation? See the Duke of Parma's opinion of this event, Davila, book 9. It was, "that the Duke of Guise had made a shew of doing too much, and effectuated too little; that he ought to have remembered, that whoever draws his sword against his prince, ought to have that instant thrown away the scabbard." Sixtus V. when he received the news, cried out, "Oh, that rash Duke, and that weak King". The Earl of Stafford, ambassador from England, (I relate this anecdote in the words of Le Grain, book 4), "being advised to take a safe conduct from the Duke of Guise, I will have no other assurance, said he, than the right of nations, and the protection of the King to whom I am sent, whose

he commanded, or those that were nearest his person. The revolutions which happen in great states, are not the effects of chance, or of the caprice of the people. Nothing so much occasions the revolt of the nobility of a kingdom, as a weak and disorderly government. For the populace, they never rebel from a desire of attacking, but from an impatience of suffering. The just resentment that filled the heart of the King of Navarre, for an insult so outrageous, offered to one of his own blood, and which, in some degree, reflected a disgrace upon all crowned heads, effaced in a moment the remembrance of Henry III.'s injurious treatment of himself. He declared his sorrow for it in his council, who all, with one voice, approved of his resolution to assist and defend the King of France; and he sent his secretary immediately to this prince, to assure him, that he might dispose of his person and of his troops.

The Count of Soissons, whose mind was delivered to perpetual chimeras, looked upon this event as a stroke of fortune, which, by ridding him of all his rivals, would give him the chief sway in the council and court of Henry III. Changing therefore his battery in an instant, he resolved to go and offer his service to this prince; and to make a greater merit of this action, he sought dependents in the court of the King of Navarre, and from a-

"whose servants and subjects you and the Duke of Guise both are." The First President de Harley answered the Duke of Guise with the same firmness, That, in the King's absence, he would go and take his orders from the Queen-mother.

There is a piece upon the different steps of the league and council, before and after the mutiny in Paris, that deserves to be read, and is intitled, "The verbal process of Nicholas Poulain, the mayor of Paris, upon the league, from 1585 to 1588." This Nicholas Poulain, who secretly favoured the King's party, often gave good advice in this affair, which was never followed. This morsel of secret history is to be found in the Journal of Henry III.'s reign, vol. i. p. 132. et seqq.

mong his most affectionate servants, whose fidelity he did not scruple to tempt. The King of Navarre was sensible, as he ought, of the indignity of this procedure : but dissembling his resentment, and reflecting that it was his interest to have some person with the Count of Soissons, in whom he could confide, to watch all his motions, and study the new system he pursued at court ; he commanded me to lend an ear to this prince's discourse, and to affect a zeal for him that I did not feel. The Count of Soissons suffered himself to be easily deceived ; he applauded himself for having gained me. The distinction with which he treated me, procured me some enemies, who envied me the share I possessed of his favour. I accompanied him in his journey, after having secretly received instructions from the King of Navarre, and concerted with him those measures which his service required me to take up on this occasion.

During our whole journey, the Count continually entertained me with the favour, the magnificence, and the honours that waited him at court. The King of Navarre, he fancied, would not even think to vie with him. In all the strokes of vanity and insupportable pride which escaped him, he insensibly mingled a vein of gall and bitterness against the King of Navarre, that discovered the hatred and antipathy he bore him. I could neither resolve to flatter his inclinations, nor to applaud his ridiculous schemes ; and all my answer was, that I foresaw the disunion of the royal family, which had been already the cause of so many misfortunes, would finally bring France under the power of the house of Austria, after it had made them destroy each other. A discourse more flattering would have been more to his taste ; but mine, however, seemed to bear the marks of a sincere attachment to him, which could not fail of pleasing.

We

We arrived at Nogent-le-Rotrou, and afterwards at Mante, where the King of France was. We found him abandoned to that agitation which arises from the most violent resentment, and filled with confusion for the affront he had so lately suffered. Notwithstanding all this, he was so incapable of profiting by this reverse of fortune*, that even at that very time he made the Duke of Epemon Admiral, and soon after gave him the government of Normandy, vacant by the death of the marechal Joyeuse. The Count of Soissons was received so ungraciously, that it was impossible but he must have felt the folly of his great projects. The King addressing himself to me, asked me if I had quitted the King of Navarre? I evaded this embarrassing question, by telling him, that in coming to offer my service to his Majesty, I did not reckon myself separated from the King of Navarre; because I was assured, that that prince, whose interests were the same with his, would in a little time do the like. I found this answer did not displease the King; but being surrounded, and carefully observed by persons on whose countenances it was easy to read the uneasiness which my discourse gave them, he concealed his sentiments. The weakness of this prince had something in it incomprehensible; his real c-

* It is believed that if Henry III. had acted with more prudence and steadiness, he would have been still able to retrieve his affairs. It is certain, that the Parisians, in consternation at his leaving Paris, sent deputies to him at Chartres, to supplicate him with every kind of submission to return to that city. To render this deputation more affecting, they made the Capuchins walk in procession, and enter the cathedral with the instruments of the passion, crying, *Misericordia*. The King received them with the air of majesty and authority suitable to the occasion. He caressed the deputies from the parliament, which had not been any wise concerned in the affair of the barricades; the others he threatened with a resolution never again to enter Paris, and to deprive it of its charters and sovereign courts; at which they were so greatly alarmed, that the Duke of Guise needed all his address and all his credit to pacify them.

nemies could not be hid from him, after the audacious manner in which they had so lately taken off the mask; but still feigning ignorance, he again delivered himself up to the Queen-mother*, and through her to his persecutors, to whom she reconciled him. Perhaps, however, this last step was in this prince but a stroke of the most profound dissimulation; for the hardy action † he committed

* In the circular letter that Henry III. sent into the provinces, after the action of the barricades, and which began thus, "Dear and well beloved, you have, as we suppose, heard the reasons that induced us to leave our city of Paris the 13th of this month," &c. this prince speaks more like a supplicant than a king; he defends himself for having introduced a foreign garrison into Paris, and doubted the fidelity of the Parisians. He gives a false and bad colour to his evasion, and declares that he is ready to begin the war against the Huguenots, at the head of the league. *MSS of the royal library, N° 8866.*

The author means the conferences which the Queen-mother held, by this prince's command, with the Cardinal of Bourbon and the Duke of Guise; to which were also admitted, as I find in vol. 3906. of the MSS in the King's library, the Lords de Lansac, Lenoncourt, Des-Chateillers, and Miron, first physician to his Majesty, who had been employed in carrying messages between the two parties on the day of the barricades. These conferences were held at Chalons, at Sarry, a house belonging to the Bishop of Chalons, at Nemours, &c. The league made most extravagant demands there, such as the entire abolition of the pretended Reformed religion, the dismissal of all the Calvinist officers, even if they abjured; the publication of the council of Trent, the inquisition, &c.; and at last obtained all they demanded by the edict of July 21. which was given in consequence of those conferences. *Mem. of the league, vol. 1. Mem. of Nevers, vol. 1. Matthieu, vol. 1. book 8. Chron. Neven. vol. 1. and others.*

† The death of the two brothers, the Duke and the Cardinal of Guise, whom this prince caused to be murdered in his own apartments, by his guards, Dec. 23. at Blois, where he held the states. See this execution in the same historians, with a detail of the proceedings and intrigues of both parties in the states of Blois. The Cardinal of Bourbon was kept prisoner: the other brothers of the Duke of Guise fled.

The Duke of Guise perished as the Admiral de Coligny did: presumption hindered them both from seeing the danger with which they were threatened. The Duke heeded none of the warnings that

committed against the states of Blois, leaves room to believe, that he did not lose for a moment the view of his vengeance. And if one might form a judgment of this assembly, in all appearance, every individual there had each a latent object that he pursued

that were given him. It is said, that the Marchioness de Noirmoutier, the same lady who made so much noise under the name of *Madam de Sauves*, came on purpose to pass the night with him; and neither by arguments nor intreaties could hinder him from going the next day to the council.

Some persons took upon them to justify Henry III. for this action; among others the Cardinal de Joyeuse, in a long memorial upon this subject, which he sent from Rome, where he then was. *Villeroy's memoirs of state*, vol. 2. p. 175. But the most judicious of our historians, and even those who have carried the privilege of the royal authority furthest, all detest it. "The shocking circumstances of the murder of the Guises," says Perefex, "appeared horrible, even in the eyes of the Huguenots, who said, that it too much resembled the massacre of St Bartholomew." On the other side, it cannot be denied that Henry III. had no other way of preserving the crown in his house, and perhaps on his own head; for there is not the least probability in what Villeroy asserts in his *Memoirs*, vol. 1. p. 25. that the King, without taking that course, might have made himself master of the deliberations of the states of Blois, and have obliged them to comply with his will.

In this alternative one cannot help lamenting the consequences of bad conduct in a prince, which reduces him to such a sad necessity. He was himself a fatal example of this truth, that he who strikes with a knife, shall perish by a knife.

The Duke of Guise was the idol of the Catholics, especially of the people, who called him always, *Our great man*. He had a scar on the left cheek, below his eye; which only served to make him more respected, because he received it fighting against the Huguenots, at the battle of Château-Thierry, by a pistol-shot from a German trooper. He was, on the contrary, so hated by his own family, whom he treated with an insupportable insolence and severity, that we are assured his relations, and even his own brothers, through fear of falling under the power of a tyrant, were the persons that sent Henry III. the most certain intelligence of his actions and designs; an intelligence which was suspected by this prince, as that given to the Duke by many of the courtiers concerning the King's violent resolution against him, was by him; for they both imagined from thence, that the design was to prevail upon them to quit the party, and break with the states of Blois, in which each of them would have found his account. Henry III. at first designed only to arrest the Duke of Guise; but he found it would be dangerous, and

pursued by ways, which success discovered in some, and disappointment concealed in others.

The death of Catherine de Medicis, which happened soon after * the assassination of the Duke of

still more to make him prisoner; therefore he determined to have him poignarded. Both the bodies were consumed in a fire, the bones burnt in a low hall of the castle, and the ashes thrown into the air.

The King of Navarre, who had no hand in this assassination, was the person that gained most by it. In all appearance, while the Duke of Guise lived, he would never have obtained the crown. We are assured also, that there were then great designs formed between France and Spain, not only to extirpate the Protestant party, but even to dethrone Elisabeth; which the event of the barricades, followed by the death of the Duke of Guise, was only able to hinder the execution of. The King of Navarre lamented the fate of the Duke of Guise, without blaming Henry III. "I always," said he, "fore saw, and said, that Mess. de Guise would never undertake the enterprize they had conceived, and bring it to an issue, without endangering their lives." *Cayet, vol. 1. p. 114.* Several other persons were of the same opinion. "Curst be Lorrain," said Hubert de Vins, in the Memoirs of Castelnau, "for his stupidity in supposing, that a King, whose crown he was attempting, would not likewise dissemble with him, to take away his life." "Since they are so near each other," said Madam de Tourbin, the sister of de Vins, "we shall hear the very first day, either the one or the other has slain his companion."

The tragical events of the year 1588 have appeared to some to verify the prediction of Regiomontanus, and other astrologers, that this year would be the climacteric of the world. I find in it only a new confirmation of the folly of this ridiculous science.

* In the opinion of those who have bestowed so many praises upon this princess, it seemed sufficient to merit the title of a politician, that she knew how to ingross the management of all affairs, and to keep herself in possession of authority: but when one reflects, that these supposed abilities, which consisted, however, in making use of unworthy means and contemptible artifices, brought things at last to such an extremity, that neither she, nor any other, knew any longer what remedies to apply to them; it may be justly asserted, that the quality of a politician did not compensate for the numberless faults she committed. It is believed, that the fatal consequences which she apprehended would attend the murder of the Guises, in which she had no part, the Cardinal of Bourbon's reproaches, the horror of the present time, and perhaps the stings of her conscience, hastened her death, which happened Jan. 5. 1589. She was forgot soon afterwards. *De Thou, book 94.* Her last advice to her son was, to put an end to the persecution against the Protestants,

of Guise, did not afford Henry III. more liberty to follow the inclination which led him to unite himself with the King of Navarre. The league was not extinct with the Duke of Guise. He had the people to calm, the grandees to regain, the Pope to appease, Spain to keep in, and all the Catholics to manage, who, after this execution, were thoroughly disposed to take umbrage at his religion.

Henry, consistently with the character of all weak men, moreover magnified to himself all these difficulties: he hoped to rectify all by mildness: he explained his right and his reasons, and endeavoured to justify himself by dint of declarations. He ought to have employed arms alone against a party, which had no longer any respect for the royal authority; and, instead of increasing the audaciousness of the populace (who in power are no less insolent, than abject in obedience) by a moderation which can only be imputed to weakness, he ought to have declared himself boldly the aggressor, and sought for vengeance like a King. Had he acted in this manner, conjunctly with the King of Navarre, he might, in all probability, have prevented the loss of Orleans, and an infinite number of other * places; nor had he been at last reduced to the cities of Blois, Beaugency, Amboise, Tours, and Samur.

I was either a witness to all these events, or I

Protestants, and to establish an entire liberty of religion in France. *Chron. Noven. vol. 1. p. 132.* Brantome's prejudices against this queen render all he has said to her disadvantage very doubtful, vol. 7. of his *Memoirs*, p. 31. *et seqq.* Varillas is not more to be believed, when he says, that her death was occasioned by her grief for the murder of the Duke, of whom she was very fond. Siri praises her like a foreigner, who was not well acquainted with the affairs of our court at that time; for he came to France long after the death of that queen. *Memoirs of Recon di Vittorio Siri, vol. 1. p. 26.*

* 'Tis a puff of wind, said Henry III. speaking of those cities, which has thrown down a pack of cards.

was well informed of them at Rosny, whither I had retired, as to a place from whence I could easily remark all that passed at court. I left it, as soon as I thought it was time to give the King of Navarre an account of these transactions. He had not been a little perplexed himself, during this interval, in unravelling and disconcerting the schemes of the Viscount Turenne; who putting himself in the Prince of Conde's place, continued all his projects for himself, and acted in the same manner by the King of Navarre as the Duke of Guise did by Henry III. In an assembly of the Protestants, held at Rochelle, he boldly declared, that France, in the present conjuncture, could not possibly avoid seeing her monarchy dismembered; and he gave them likewise to understand, that, in this division, he would not forget himself. The King of Navarre complained of this conduct in the same assemblies; and, to engage the Protestants the more firmly to his person, he joined actions to words, seized upon Garnache, and took Niort by storm, after a bloody battle. It was at his return from this expedition, that he fell dangerously ill at La-Mothe-Frêlon*.

I took my way through Blois, in order to form my last conjectures upon the situation in which I should find the court. Although I took all precautions to avoid being known by any person, the Marquis of Rambouillet, seeing me pass through the street, knew me, though wrapped up in my cloak, and ordered me to be followed, to know where I put up. The Marquis was an upright man, who

* He left St Hermione, in Lower Poitou, in the month of January, to go and assist Garnache, which was besieged by the Duke of Nevers. Du-Plessis-Mornay led his troops, and he himself marched on foot, as if he was shooting. He overheated himself, and was seized with a pain in his side, attended with a fever, which obliged him to stop at the first house he came to, which belonged to a gentleman called *La-Mothe Frêlon*. Du-Plessis persuaded him to be let blood, which cured him. *Life of Du-Plessis-Mornay*, b. 1. p. 125.

had always the good of the state in view, without any considerations of self-interest : he believed it his duty to avail himself of this encounter, to make his last effort upon the King's mind, and engage him finally to throw himself into the arms of the King of Navarre. He found him in such a disposition as he wished, and the King consented the more willingly to employ me upon this occasion, as he remembered I had already been deputed to him on that business. Rambouillet coming to me by his order, we concerted together what was necessary to be done on this occurrence ; after which he presented me to his Majesty, who confirmed to me himself his intentions. The many ineffectual engagements into which he had entered with the King of Navarre, made me think it necessary to ask him for a letter of credence to that prince ; but he refused it, out of an apprehension that it might fall into the hands of Nuncio Morosini, or the Duke of Nevers *, to whom, he said, notwithstanding his goodwill towards me, he should be obliged to deliver me, if I came to be discovered in Blois. I must therefore pass from the letter. I afterwards demanded, for the security of the King of Navarre, that when he should advance into the midst of a country full of his enemies, a town might be given him, that would afford him a free passage over the Loire. This, for the same reason, was refused.

* John Francis Morosini, Bishop of Bresce. Lewis de Gonzague, Duke of Nevers. Sixtus V. had just then published a bull of excommunication against Henry, which this prince used his utmost endeavour to get recalled. This Pope, who was said to be equally fit to govern a great kingdom as to be the head of the church, secretly approved of that justice which the King of France had executed upon the Duke of Guise ; but he could not pardon him for involving a cardinal in it. See in Villeroy's memoirs of state, vol. 2. p. 175. the Cardinal de Joyeuse's letters already cited. Sixtus V. foretold, that the league would reduce Henry to the necessity of applying to the King of Navarre and the Huguenots for assistance.

I did not attribute these refusals to any bad intention of his Majesty, but only to the fear he was in of those two men, upon whom he had voluntarily rendered himself dependent. I did not, however, believe, that the King of Navarre, without this last article especially, ought to advance with his troops as far as Blois. But this difficulty was in some measure removed by Brigneux, the governor of Beaugency, whom I visited before I went away. This officer prevented me : after telling me, that he saw, with grief, this place, like the rest, would be infallibly lost by the measures the King pursued, he offered to resign the care of it to me, or to Rebours, or to any other officer the King of Navarre would send thither ; chusing rather to lose the place, and follow this prince as a simple voluntier, than to continue in Beaugency, where they did not hearken to his counsels.

After this assurance, I returned speedily to the King of Navarre. This prince listened to me attentively ; but not being able to divest himself of the diffidence that the past had inspired him with, he often asked me, with an unquiet tone, and scratching his head, if the King acted at this time sincerely ? I assured him of it ; and added the engagement of Rambouillet. “ Well then,” replied the King, “ I will not take his towns, while he continues to treat honestly with me ;” for he had taken Châtelleraud that very day. “ Return then,” added he, “ and carry him my letters ; for I neither fear “ Morosini nor Nevers.” He made me go with him that moment to breakfast in his closet ; and I took post again for Blois.

The King of France, who did not doubt but the King of Navarre’s answer would be such as he desired, had, through impatience, advanced as far as Montrichard, with all his retinue. I found all the lodgings in this little place either taken up or bespoken ;

spoke; so that, as I arrived very late, I began to think I should be obliged to pass the night in the street. Happily Maignan found out the Marquis of Rambouillet's lodgings, and he provided me with those that had been designed for one of my brothers, then at Tours. At midnight I went to the King, who waited for me in a garret of the castle. He approved of, and signed every thing, even to the passage over the Loire; and would have had me to set out again that very night. The rumour of a treaty between the two King's had already reached Châtelleraud, when I arrived there; and was so passionately desired by the people, that I received a thousand blessings as soon as I appeared.

The King of Navarre was no longer there. This prince, who never almost reckoned but upon his sword, being informed that the league had entered Argenton through intelligence, marched hastily thither, and arrived so seasonably, that he dislodged the troops of the league, before they had received the supplies that were necessary to maintain them there. He left Beaupré governor in this place, after I had visited the castle, and put into a proper condition the fortifications of the place.

The fatigue of so many journeys made so precipitately threw me, at my return, into a continued fever, which confined me to my bed twelve days completely. Du-Plessis found means to avail himself of this accident, to deprive me of the honour of a treaty which he had only the trouble of dressing, and in which the Marquis of Rambouillet* had a much greater share than himself. This treaty was signed at Plessis les-Tours, to the great satisfaction of the two Kings. Saumur was the place of

* It is just to inform the reader, that the facts are related very differently in the life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, book 1. p. 131.; but to which of the writers most credit ought to be given, is not easy to determine.

security that was agreed upon, and Du-Plessis did not fail to procure the government of it, as the natural recompense for him to whom they had the obligation of the treaty.

This procedure appeared to me so irregular, that I could not help complaining loudly of Du-Plessis, and even of the King of Navarre himself, who had favoured another with the fruit of my labour. The Count of Soissons, who never accommodated himself to the general interest, or took part in the public joy, laid hold upon this occasion, to endeavour to draw me into his new designs; and my two brothers, on the other side, pressed me earnestly to attach myself wholly to the party of the King. I rejected this proposition; nor was my fidelity to my prince to be shaken by all the efforts which were made to seduce me. When I reflected also, that the government of Saumur would have obliged me to a continual residence there, and by consequence must have removed me from the King of Navarre for ever; I found, that what had appeared an act of injustice, was rather a favour, which merited my acknowledgment.

Nothing now remained for the two Kings to do, but to have a conference together, in order to concert their enterprises. For this purpose, the King of Navarre set out from Plessis-les-Tours. Agitated by some remains of distrust*, which he could not easily divest himself of, I remember he halted near a mill, about two leagues from the castle, and would know the opinion of each of the gentlemen

* His old Huguenot officers, they say, were afraid, that at a time when treachery was so necessary to Henry III. to extricate him out of the labyrinth into which the action he had committed at Blois had brought him (for he had been excommunicated by Sixtus V.) he would not scruple to purchase his absolution at the price of the King of Navarre's life. *Prefixe, ib.* This prince had often himself said, as De Thou relates, "That he never went to the King's closet but through the midst of two armies, ranged on each side."

that composed his train, upon the step he was taking. I was of this troop, and the remembrance of what I called injustice kept me silent. The King of Navarre turning to me, "You speak not a word," said he, "of what you think?" I answered, in few words, That although the step he was taking was not without danger, because the troops of the King of France were superior to his, I believed this to be one of those occasions, where something ought to be left to hazard; and one ought to be contented with taking all the precautions which prudence could suggest. This prince reflected a few moments, then turning towards us, "Let us go, let us go," said he, "the resolution is taken, we must not think of it further *."

The King had advanced into the country to meet the King of Navarre; and the joy of an union so desired had drawn together a concourse of people so prodigious, that the two Kings continued near a quarter of an hour, at fifty paces the one from the other, without being able to approach nearer. They embraced, with equal satisfaction †, and took the road together to Tours, where the King of Navarre lay only one night, and then returned to his quarters at Maillé. As for me, I staid at Tours, being detained by a great number of my friends and relations, whom I found there, and took a lodging in the suburb St Symphorien.

The Duke of Maïenne, armed to revenge the death of the Duke of Guise, and to support the interest of the league, had no design to leave us there

* He wrote to Du-Plessis-Mornay in these terms. "Monsieur Du-Plessis, the ice is broken, not without many warnings, that if I went, I should be a dead man. I passed the water, recommending myself to God," &c.

† At the bridge of La Motte, a quarter of a league from Tours. "Courage, my Lord," said Henry IV. to Henry III. "two Henrys are worth more than one Carolus." *Matthieu*, vol. 1. p. 152. The Duke of Maïenne's name was Charles.

tranquil.

tranquil. He marched with his whole army towards this city. The King, who had walked as far as Marmouëtter, unarmed, and followed only by twenty horse, wanted very little of being taken, and was obliged to return precipitately to Tours. The suburbs having no other intrenchments than some slight barricades, erected in haste, by six or seven regiments of royalists, who defended them, I quitted the suburb of St Symphorien, and ordered all my equipage to be transported to the city. My precaution was by the officers taxed with timidity ; but it was not long ere it was justified.

The Duke of Maienne attacked the suburb. He was stopped some moments by means of five or six houses, on the top of the hill, where our people had posted themselves ; but they were very quickly obliged to abandon them, in order to intrench themselves behind the barricades, where expecting soon to be assaulted, they made use of this interval to snatch a morsel in haste.

I found the King at the gate of the city, who made me enter it, by telling me, that it would be idle, in his opinion, to defend the suburbs. In effect, the barricades could not resist the enemy's cannon ; they were forced at the very first ; and as they had no ditch to support them, their retreat into the city was so confused, and so much exposed to the enemy, that I am surpris'd all the soldiers in the suburbs were not either taken or slain, and even that the enemy did not enter the city along with them. Two pieces of cannon would have been sufficient for this purpose. I beheld the rout of our people from the convent of Jacobins, which looked over the walls of the city ; and fearing lest the misfortune should become still greater, I ran with my two brothers to the gate, by which they were all entering tumultuously. By the favour of some slight intrenchments, which we ordered to be made, we lessened

lessened the danger, and with a little time and order, they all entered; after which we closed up the gate, and set a strong guard over it.

It being no longer doubted, but that the city would be besieged in form, I joined Châtillon and some others, and we went to intreat the King to confide some important post to our defence; he gave us the Isles *, and we laboured there without interruption from that moment till the next morning, when the King came in person to visit our work; and addressing himself to me, greatly praised our diligence. It was useless. At the first news of what had happened, the King of Navarre hastened with his troops to Tours, and appeared in three hours before the city. The Duke of Maienne did not wait for him, but retreated, after plundering the suburbs, and the neighbouring places. A service of this importance gave great expectations of the alliance of the two Kings, and made the inhabitants of Tours look upon the King of Navarre † as their deliverer.

The two Kings passed eight or ten days together; after which they separated for the expedition that had been projected on the city of Poitiers. While they carried on the works there, the King of Navarre ordered me, with 300 horse, and a like number of arquebusiers, to whom he also gave horses, to defend Chartres, it having been discovered, that Maintenon was privily endeavouring to possess himself of this city, in the name of the league. I provided myself with rope-ladders, petards, and other instruments, and came directly to Bonneval, with-

* Read the Isle. This quarter, which is inhabited only by watermen, and the meanest people, is of great consequence to the defence of Tours.

† Henry IV. highly extolled the behaviour of Henry III. who shewed great courage upon this occasion. *Mem. of Nevers, vol. 2. p. 589.*

out eating any thing that whole day. Some prisoners whom we took from a detachment of twenty-five troopers, informed us, that there was a party of 400 horse in the field, having Brosse Saveuse at their head; and that Reclainville, who conducted the twenty-five troopers, had taken us for the troop of 120 horse with which Lorges had just surprised Châteaudun. We judged from this account, that the party of 400 horse wanted to come up with us; and we, on our side, having the same desire, left our arquebusiers to pursue the road to Chartres leisurely, and taking ours through the little hills, in order to reach the enemy's squadron, we met them on the top of a small hill, which each party had climbed up on his own side; so that we neither saw them, nor they us, till we were within two hundred paces of each other.

We came to blows without deliberation, and with so much fury, that, by the first shock, forty of our men were thrown to the ground. I was of this number, together with Mess. de Châtillon de Mouy, de Montbazon, d'Avantigny, and de Préfaigny. Happily I had received no wound; my horse, who was only split in the jaw by the push of a lance, got up again, and I found myself still on his back. Perhaps there never was an action, of this kind of combat, more hot, more obstinate, or more bloody. Four or five times we returned to the charge, the enemy rallying again the moment they were put into disorder. I had two swords broke, and I had recourse to a pair of large pistols loaded with balls of steel, against which no arms were proof. Our enemies finding they had lost 200 of their men, left us at last the field of battle.

We were scarce in a condition to relish the fruits of our victory, because of our wounds and our weariness, which rendered us almost motionless. A little repose was all we wished for, when a heavy
rain

rain fell, which, mixing with our sweat, wet us all over in an instant; for we were obliged to cover our arms with our cloaths: and to complete our misfortune, we learned that the Duke of Maïenne was at our heels. In this melancholy situation, a council being held, it was resolved, notwithstanding the condition in which we were, that we should march all night, and endeavour to get back to Beaugency. We arrived there, almost spent with fatigue and thirst. My strength failing me, all I could do was to sink down upon a bed; nor was it possible to awake me to take any nourishment.

The report of this battle being spread, the King of Navarre came to Beaugency to visit us, and praised infinitely our action. Saveuse being among the prisoners, was brought before him; and the King, who, from the same principle of generosity, was led to caress the brave, and to bewail the unfortunate, endeavoured to console him, by praises on his conduct, and every kind of good treatment. But Saveuse knowing that a great number of his relations, and almost all his friends, had perished in the fight, his grief for their loss, joined to the shame of having been vanquished, and the considerable wounds he had received, threw him into such despair, that he became furious, and died in the height of a raging fever, without suffering his wounds to be dressed. The King of Navarre made us set out for Chateaudun, where eight days repose made us forget the past.

I was ready to depart, when a courier brought me notice that my wife was dangerously ill. I flew to Rosny, with Dortoman, first physician to the King of Navarre, whom this prince ordered to accompany me. All this canton was in the interests of the league; and one of my brothers, who had taken possession of my house, the same wherein my wife lay ill, had the cruelty to draw up the bridge,

and refuse me entrance. Pierced to my inmost soul, with a treatment so unnatural, I swore I would enter, or perish. I began actually to force my own house, and the ladder was already applied to the wall, when my brother, who did not perhaps expect so much intrepidity, ordered the gate to be opened.

The only consolation I had was to find my wife still alive, and to receive her last embraces. All remedies were ineffectual, and she died four days after my arrival. I acknowledge, that the loss of a wife so dear, and whose life had been exposed to such cruel vicissitudes, shut my heart, during a whole month, to every other sentiment. I heard with insensibility the progress of the arms of the two Kings, which at any other time would have inflamed me with an ardent desire of having some part in it: for it was about this time that Gergeau, Pluviers, Estampes, Chartres, Poissy, Pontoise, the isle Adam, Beaumont, and Creil, were besieged. Every little inconsiderable town boasted of having stopped her King, who found nothing but revolt and disobedience over all. He was now sensible of the great advantage he drew from the King of Navarre's assistance. As for this prince, he was as prodigal of life as if he had been weary of it. Wherever there was most danger, there was he certainly to be seen at the head of his soldiers. In one of those frequent encounters which he had to maintain, at the very moment when, to rest himself, he was leaning upon Charbonniere, this colonel was, by a musket shot, laid dead at his feet.

I awaked as from a profound sleep, when I heard that the two Kings kept Paris besieged *; and tearing
ing

* If we may believe Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 3. these two Kings were not greatly contented with each other. Henry III. could not conceal

ing myself from a place where every object I saw renewed my affliction, I hastened to join the army. It was here that I soothed that grief which still filled my heart, by exposing myself heedlessly in all the skirmishes we had with the enemy, then more frequent than ever, particularly in the field which was called *the Scholars meadow*. The King of Navarre perceived it, and observing that Maignan, my equerry, whom he often ordered to go to me, and force me away, durst not do it, he desired him simply to tell me, that he wanted to speak to me.

Scarce had he uttered one word, when he was interrupted by a gentleman, who whispered something in his ear, and left him immediately. The King of Navarre, struck with what he had heard, called me again instantly, and told me an assassin had dangerously wounded the King with a knife *.

He

veal his jealousy of Henry IV. who, far from expecting to reign, resolved to retire as soon as he had re-established the King upon his throne.

* By James Clement, a Jacobin monk, born in Sorbonne, a village in Burgundy. He was introduced by La Guesle, the solicitor-general, into the King's chamber, as having a letter of great consequence to deliver to him. This prince, who had a great kindness for monks, rose from the close-stool upon which he was sitting, having already read part of the letter, when the assassin struck him in the belly with a knife, which he left sticking in the wound. The King drew it out, and wounded the Jacobin with it in the forehead, who was immediately killed by the gentlemen of his chamber. His body was burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Seine. The historians have not forgot to observe, as a circumstance at that time not doubted of, that Henry III. was murdered in the same house, and (if we believe them) in the same chamber, place, and month, where, seventeen years before, that prince had assisted at the council, in which the massacre of St Bartholomew was resolved upon. M. Bayle seems to have given credit to this anecdote, which is now proved to be false, the house at the massacre of St Bartholomew not being built. Henry III. died in the night between the 2d and 3d of August, aged 38 years. James Clement (say the notes on the *Henriade*) being at St Cloud, some persons who suspected him, went at night into his chamber, to observe him. They found him in a profound sleep, his breviary before him, open at the article of Judith. He fasted, confessed himself, and received the sacrament before he set out to assassinate

He had about him only five and twenty gentlemen, with whom he took the road with all speed to St Cloud, where the King's quarters were. At his entrance into this prince's apartment, he found he had just received an injection, which came away again without either pain or blood. He approached his bed, with all the inquietude that the sincerest friendship could inspire. The King comforted him with assurances, that his wound would have no bad consequences, and that God would prolong his life, that he might be in a condition to give him new proofs of his affection. The wounded monarch pronounced these words in such a manner, as

finite the King. He was praised for this action at Rome, in the chair where Henry III.'s funeral oration ought to have been pronounced. At Paris, his picture was placed on the altars with the eucharist. Cardinal de Retz relates, that, on the anniversary-day of the barricadoes, in the minority of Lewis XIV. he saw a gorget upon which this monk was engraved, with these words underneath, *St James Clement*.

The King of Navarre (says Chron. Noven. vol. 1. p. 223.) knelt at his bedside, sighs and tears not permitting him to speak a word. He took his Majesty's hands between his, and kissed them. The King, perceiving that he was silent through the strong emotions with which he was agitated, embraced his head, kissed him, and gave him his benediction. Had not the knife been poisoned, the wound would not have been mortal; for it was not deep, and had not reached the intestines, p. 217. Burgoin, prior of the Jacobins, was tore to pieces by four horses. They could extort nothing but these words from him: "We have done what we could, but not what we would have done;" which made it be believed, that Henry IV. was designed to have been assassinated at the same time. The Sieur de Rougemont was arrested, for having desired to strike the blow himself, p. 228. He died like a good Christian. He forgave his enemies, and even Clement himself, says Matthieu. See, in the historians, a fuller account of his death. His character may be collected from what is said of him in these Memoirs. He was called, at his baptism, *Edward-Alexander*, by Edward VI. King of England, and Antony King of Navarre: but Catherine made him afterwards assume the name of his father.

It is said, that seventeen or eighteen persons having gathered up the ashes of Clement, which the wind had dispersed, getting into a boat with these ashes, the boat was swallowed up by the Seine, and all that were in it.

removed

removed part of the King of Navarre's apprehensions, and seeing besides no mortal symptom, he left him to his repose, quitted his chamber, and returned to his quarters at Meudon.

My lodgings were at the bottom of this castle, in the house of a man named *Sauvat*. After I had seen the King of Navarre dismounted, I went home to sup, and had just placed myself at table, when I saw Ferret his secretary enter, who said to me, "Sir, the King of Navarre, and perhaps the King of France, desires you in an instant." Startled at these words, I went with him immediately to the castle; and, by the road, he told me, that Dortoman had informed the King of Navarre, by an express, that if he would see the King alive, he had not a moment to lose.

I went straight to the apartment of the prince, where, while our horses were saddling, he did me the honour to consult me upon the present conjuncture. The different reflections with which my mind was filled at this moment, kept me for some time silent. The King was in no less agitation. It was no longer the happy issue of a little negotiation, nor the success of a battle, nor a small kingdom, such as Navarre, upon which he meditated; it was the finest monarchy in Europe. But to arrive at it, how many obstacles were to be surmounted? and by what travel must he not purchase it? All that the King of Navarre had suffered until this moment, might, in comparison, be accounted nothing. How cruel a party so powerful, and so creditable, that it had made a prince established on the throne to tremble, and almost obliged him to descend from it! This difficulty already so great, appeared insurmountable, when one reflected, that the King's death would deprive the King of Navarre of the principal and the greatest part of his forces. He could not reckon either upon the princes of the
P 3 blood,

blood, or upon the *grande*es; and in his present condition, he had occasion for every one's assistance, yet he had no one in whom he could confide. I trembled, when it came into my mind, that such surprising and unexpected news might occasion a revolution, which would expose the King of Navarre, with only a handful of his faithful servants, to the mercy of his old enemies, in a country where he was destitute of all resources.

Notwithstanding all this, all agreed that the King of Navarre had but one only part to take, that of availing himself of the occasion, and of using it with all those precautions which ordinarily render it happy or otherwise. Indeed, without attempting to judge of the future, which depends upon too many things, and still less to subject it to our precipitation; in great and painful enterprises, we should endeavour to subdue obstacles one after another; nor suffer ourselves to be rebuted by their greatness, or by their number. We ought never to despair of what has been possible to any one. How many things to which we have attached the idea of impossible, have become easy to those who knew how to take advantage of time, occasions, lucky moments, the faults of others, different dispositions, and an infinitude of other circumstances?

The answer I made the King was agreeable to these maxims. He did not think differently himself. We agreed therefore, that, instead of returning to the distant provinces, this prince should remain in the midst of the royal army, to support his claim, and that we should set out instantly for St Cloud, but well armed at all events, taking care, however, to keep our extraordinary arms concealed, that we might not ourselves be the first to create terror and suspicion. Upon entering St Cloud, they told us the King was better; and obliged us to put off our swords. I followed the King of Navarre,

varre, who advanced towards the castle; when, all at once, we heard a man exclaim, "Ah! my God, we are lost." The King of Navarre making this man approach, who continued crying, "Alas! the King is dead," asked him several questions, which he satisfied, by such a circumstantial recital of the King's death, that we could no longer doubt the truth of it.

Henry no longer doubted, when advancing a few steps, he saw the Scotch guard, who threw themselves at his feet, saying, "Ah, Sire! you are at present our King and our master." And some moments after, Mess. de Biron, de Bellegarde, d'O, de Chateauxvieux, de Dampierre, and several others, did the same.

The King of Navarre perceived, that this was one of those critical moments, the good or bad employment of which must decide his destiny for life. Without suffering himself to be dazzled with the view of a throne, upon which this instant placed him, or overpowered by difficulties, or by useless grief, he calmly began to give orders for keeping every one in their duty, and preventing mutinies. He turned himself to me, and with that air of familiarity with which he entertained those of whose affection he was assured, bid me go to the Marechal d'Aumont's quarters, and there, with all the address necessary to attach them more strongly to his interest, spread among his troops the news of the King's death, and to make this marechal speak to the French guards, to engage their officers to come and pay their homage to him in the afternoon, and to prevail upon the nobility to do the same. He recommended to me to have a sharp eye upon my own quarters, and to keep all there in due obedience. He studied, moreover, to strengthen himself by all the foreign powers, on whose assistance he thought he might rely. He wrote or sent deputies

ties to Germany, England, Flanders, Switzerland, and the republic of Venice, to inform them of this new event, and the right which it gave him to the crown of France.

I represented to him, that one of the things that seemed to be most pressing, was to get possession of Meulan, a place, upon this occasion, of the utmost importance, the governor of which (who was called *St Marc*) he knew to be a zealous leaguer in his heart. I explained to him in few words, how easily this might be executed; and the King approving, I went to Meulan, and demanded a conference with *St Marc*, upon affairs, I said, of great consequence to him. He came to me; and while I amused him with a feigned confidence, the *Marechal d'Aumont* passed over the bridge with his troops, and, taking advantage of the first moment of consternation, proceeded to the castle, which he made himself master of, and we drove out the too credulous *St Marc*.

The King offered me this government, which many considerations kept me from accepting. Part of the King's apprehensions were soon justified by the event. He found it impossible to keep either the Duke of Epemon*, or many other disaffected Catholics,

* The author of his life assigns very bad reasons for this retreat: it is plain that nothing can excuse it. Upon this occasion it appears, that, besides the Protestant party, there were three others among the Catholics themselves; the first of which was composed of those persons who abandoned Henry IV. after the death of Henry III.; the second, those who not being able to prevail upon this prince to declare that very moment, that he would embrace the Catholic religion, continued with him, but had neither affection to his person, nor a sincere attachment to his interest. The number of these was very great. The chief among them were, the Dukes of Longueville and Nevers, d'O, (who had spoken to him in the name of the rest), and many others. The third party was made up of those who declared publicly, (says D'Aubigné), that they would serve the King without any conditions: and these were indeed but very few in number; among which were the *Marechals D'Aumont and Biron, Givry, &c.* Henry was extremely perplexed at the rude proposition made

Catholics, in his service, especially those who owed their fortune to the deceased King. Their desertion reduced him almost to those troops only which he had brought with him, and put it out of his power to continue the siege of Paris, or even to continue in its neighbourhood. The foreign powers either gave him nothing but fine words, or offered him such supplies as could be no remedy to actual evils. He was obliged therefore to retire to the centre of the kingdom. He had already (though without discovering his real motive for it) caused a report to be spread among his soldiers of an intended journey to Tours. This retreat was no less necessary for the safety of his person, than for the state of his affairs. A thousand dangers threatened him, in the neighbourhood of a city, where the King his predecessor, though a Catholic, and with a powerful army under his obedience, could not escape a tragical end. There they had just taken final resolutions to rid themselves of this prince; and he had still more reason to tremble, when he reflected that those cruel counsels were held in the midst of his army, and that the assassins were perhaps near his person.

In a conjuncture so embarrassing, it was necessary to place a governor in Meulan, who had a regiment actually ready to defend it against the league, which becoming insolent by the King's death, in imagination already enjoyed the conquest of it. I had not one, nor sufficient time to raise one; the go-

made him by the Catholics, and the declaration they added to it, that they would retire, if he did not give them this satisfaction. He told them resolutely, that he would never be reproached with having been constrained to take such a step; and demanded six months time to think upon it. See the historians upon this subject, and particularly D'Aubigné, vol. 3. b. 2. c. 23. Henry IV. received such important services upon this occasion from the Marechal Biron, that it was reported, it was he who made him King: and the Marechal is said to have reproached Henry with his services in those very terms. Mem. of Brantome, vol. 3. p. 346.

vernment

vernment of Meulan was therefore given to Bellen-greville *.

The King, in his retreat, took Clermont, and some other small towns. His forces were too inconsiderable for greater enterprises; and this also was the reason that I missed of taking Louviers, upon which I had a design that in all appearance would have succeeded. This design I communicated to the King, and desired he would give me some forces for the execution of it. He could give me only a company of his light-armed horse, commanded by Arambure, which was not sufficient; but he assured me that I should be joined at Louviers by a regiment of 1200 men, which was then at Nogent; and for this purpose he wrote to Couronneau the colonel of this regiment.

In this hope I came before Louviers, where I waited in vain for the supplies that had been promised me. The river of Eure, which ran into the ditches of Louviers, having been turned, a great aqueduct that supplied the city with water, became dry. This I had remarked, and it was through this place that I proposed to enter it; but it was not probable, that Mess. d'Aumale, de la Londe, de Fontaine-Martel, de Medavy, de Contenant, and many other officers of the league, of which this city was full, would surrender, or suffer themselves to be taken, without striking a blow, I thought it would be rashness to attempt to force them with a handful of men. In order therefore to justify the truth of what I had asserted, I contented myself with sending several persons into this aqueduct, where I employed them only in enlarging the entrance, by forcing up with a petard the grate that closed it. By this means they several times penetrated into the city, and came out again without being perceived;

* Read Joachim de Berengueville.

which

which convinced them, that the enterprize failed only for want of men.

I returned by Pont-de-l'Arche, to meet the King at Ecoüy ; from whence he hoped to pass immediately to Touraine ; but he found the Normans so well affected to him, that he was determined, by their offers, to attempt the important siege of Rouen. While preparations were making for this expedition, we took Gournay, Neufchâtel, the city of Eu, Treport, and Darnetal ; where the King received advice, that the Duke of Maienne sought to come to a battle with him. I was commanded to go with fifty horse to reconnoitre this general's army, which I found in the neighbourhood of Mante, and spread over all my lands. I went, and posted myself in my forest ; from whence I made observations, and brought the King information, that the army of the league consisted of 25,000 effective foot, and 8000 horse. The King, who had only a little flying camp to oppose so formidable an army, was not willing to neglect any precaution. He had already caused the commander of Chastes to be sounded, to know if in case of any inconvenience, he would receive him into Dieppe : and he had reason to be perfectly satisfied with his answer ; but, in order to be better assured of this governor's intentions, he went himself to confer with him, and returned very well satisfied. Seeing therefore that he might reckon upon a retreat so secure as Dieppe*, he the less feared to keep the field before the enemy ; and

* Henry IV. it is said, was reduced to such an extremity under the walls of this city, that he was upon the point of retiring into England ; which the Marechal de Biron prevented, by advising him to make good his post at Arques. Before the battle of Arques, he said, that he was a king without a kingdom, a husband without a wife, and a warrior without money.

resolving

resolving to make head against them to the last extremity, he came and posted himself before Arques.

At the end of the causey of Arques there is a long winding hill, covered with coppice : beneath is a space of arable land, in the midst of which is the great road that leads to Arques, having thick hedges on each side. Lower down, upon the left hand, there is a kind of great morafs or boggy ground. A village called *Martinglise* bounds the hill, about half a league from the causey. It was in this village, and in the neighbourhood of it, that the whole army of the Duke of Maïenne was incamped. The King was sensible, that by attempting to resist an army of more than 30,000 men, with less than 3000, his conduct might be taxed with temerity. But besides that it would be very difficult to find a place more favourable for his few forces, and that there was danger in going back, he thought that the weakness of his party demanded some bold stroke at the beginning. He neglected nothing that could any how compensate for the smallness of his number. He ordered deep trenches to be cut at the causey, and above as well as beneath the great road : he posted 1200 Swifs on each side of this road, and 600 German foot to defend the upper trenches ; and placed 1000 or 1200 others in a chapel, which stood in the midst of the upper and lower trenches. It was all the infantry he had : his cavalry, which amounted upon the whole only to 600 men, he divided into too equal squadrons ; and with one posted himself between the wood and the road, and separating the other into platoons, made them go down between the road and the morafs, to fill in some sort the interval. He did not lie down that whole night ; during which, fearing that the enemy would make themselves masters of the causey, he kept guard there himself. In the morning they brought him
something

something to eat into the trench, where he called his principal officers to breakfast with him; after which he thought, perhaps, to have taken a few moments rest, when he was informed by the guards, that the army of the league was marching towards him, in order of battle.

At this news, he ordered the Viscount de Chartres, Patcheux, Brasseuse, Avantigny, and three or four others, to advance into the wood, to make some prisoners: they returned in an instant, bringing with them the Count de Belin. The King went to meet him, and embraced him smiling. He, whose eyes were every where in search of the King's army, seeing hardly any soldiers about him, answered him no otherwise than by marking his surprise to see so few around the King. "You see not all," said the King to him with the same gaiety: "for you reckon not God, and my just right, who assist me." Accustomed as I was to see this prince, I could not help admiring his serene and tranquil countenance, on an occasion so much the more desperate, as it left him full time for reflection. His air was so stayed, and his ardor tempered with so much prudence, that he appeared to the soldiers to have something more than humanity, and inspired them in their turn with all the intrepidity of their chief.

The Duke of Maienne ordered the upper trenches to be attacked by a squadron of his German foot, who made as if they declined fighting, because they had only Germans to encounter. They even pretended to surrender; and our Germans were so effectually deceived by this artifice, that they suffered the others to advance and gain the trench, from whence they drove out ours; and from this advantageous post they gave us a great deal of trouble. I soon lost sight of all that was done at the side of the wood; because that part of

the morafs where I was, with ten of my men, was that moment attacked by a fquadron of 8 or 900 horfe. At the approach of a troop fo fuperior, we drew together about 150 horfe, and drove them back as far as the valley; where meeting with four other fquadrons, we were obliged to retreat, till being joined in our turn by the Count d'Auvergne*, who brought 150 horfe more to our affiftance, we a fecond time beat back the enemy's fquadrons. This management could not laft long. Three hundred horfe from the enemy's army joining the firft, we were forced to yield, and we regained the chapel in diforder; where fortunately our foot-foldiers, who were pofted there, ftopped this cavalry fhort, and engaged in a battle, in which Sagonne and fome other officers were flain.

The Duke of Maïenne commanding all the reft of his German foot to attack the chapel, we quit- ted at length this poft; and, overpowered by numbers, abandoned the hollows in the road, and even the road itfelf. This was the beginning of a defeat: the confequences had been fearful, if

* Charles de Valois, natural fon of Charles IX. He is mention- ed hereafter. It is upon the relation of this Count, afterwards Duke of Agoulême, that Father Daniel, in his hiftory of France, vol. 9. has given a defcription of this battle, to which nothing can be added, and differs but little from that in our Memoirs. See alfo Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 14. *et feqq.*; Cayet, vol. 1. b. 2. p. 1263. *et feqq.*; the Me- moirs of Nevers, vol. 2. p. 597. and the phyfician Du Chefne's rela- tion, &c. This battle was fought on Wednesday Sept. 20. It be- gan at ten o'clock in the morning, and ended at eleven. The Duke of Maïenne, five days before, made feveral attempts upon Dieppe, which were called *efcarmouches du Pollet*. "My companion," faid Henry IV. to Arreguer, colonel of the regiment of Soleure, "I come "to die, or to gain honour with you." "He drove back the "treacherous Germains," &c. *Le Grain, book 5.* "My father," faid this prince, to Col. Galati, "keep a pike for me, for I will "fight at the head of your battalion." Matthieu, *ib.* p. 14. After the battle, he wrote to Grillon in thefe terms. "Hang thyfelf, "brave Grillon, for we have fought at Arques without thee. A- "dieu, brave Grillon, I love thee whether I will or not."

we had not happily met the battalion of the Swiss, who sustained the shock, gave us time to rally, and put us again into a condition of renewing the fight. Nothing could have happened more seasonably with regard to myself. My horse that moment falling dead of his wounds, I mounted a fresh one. To vanquish the brave resistance of our Swiss, the enemy thought proper to order 500 horse to march along the side of the morass: they would have taken us in the rear, and have easily overpowered the Swiss, and the rest of the soldiers, when luckily the horses approaching too near the morass, they remained intangled in the mire, and their riders with difficulty enough disengaged them, by leaving their lances there.

The battle continued some time longer in this state, that is to say, while we had any strength left; but at length weariness began to overcome us. On our side they were the same men who were always in action; instead of which our enemies were renewed, and multiplied every moment. Great part of our brigade was disarmed and dismounted. In this extremity, I was deputed by the troop to represent our situation to the King, and to demand from him a reinforcement. I met this prince coming to our quarter. "My friend," said he to me, "I have not a soul to send you; we must not, however, lose courage for all that." In effect, he was in no better condition than we. He turned, however, towards M. le Grand, and bid him follow me with all the men he could get together from the upper part of the road. I went back to my party, and with apparent joy informed them of a supply, upon which I but little depended. Every one was re-animated, and one may say, that at that moment acts of valour were done that were incredible. The thick fog, which concealed us from our enemies, hid from us likewise a great

part of our danger : but when this fog was dissipated, the sun shewed us to them, and discovered their whole army to us, ready to overwhelm us. It was by this time so near, that we could not hope to gain the end of the causey, where our last intrenchment was, and we thought of nothing but selling our lives dearly.

Our safety came from what we had looked upon as our greatest misfortune. The cannon of the castle of Arques had been rendered useless by the thickness of the fog ; but as soon as the enemy could be distinguished, it made a discharge so just, and of so terrible an effect, although there were but four pieces, that the enemy were disordered. Four other volleys succeeded with such rapidity, as went quite through their army ; which, no longer able to endure the fire, retired in disorder to the side of valley : behind which, some moments after, all this terrible multitude were lost ; astonished, without doubt, at the great loss they had sustained, and depressed by a resistance which the Duke of Maine had not expected.

The King, after an action which covered him with glory, retired to Arques ; from thence he went to Dieppe, always harassed by the enemy, and engaged in frequent skirmishes ; the detail of which I suppress, as having nothing sufficiently interesting after the battle of Arques. The King, however, in one of these rencounters, found himself exposed to a danger still greater : for, believing the enemy at a distance, he was exercising with us a kind of military game in a meadow, and sustained a discharge from 200 fusileers, who lay in ambush upon the ground between two hedges, but two hundred paces at most from the place where we were.

It is certain, that any other than Henry would have infallibly sunk under these difficulties, before he

he had received the supplies which were preparing for him; but by his valour * and his skill in disputing the ground, he gave time to 4000 English and Scotch, that Q. Elisabeth sent him, to pass the sea; and this reinforcement was soon after followed by one greater, which was brought him by the Count of Soissons, Henry of Orleans, Duke of Longueville, d'Aumont, and Biron. It was owing to the Count of Soissons that he was so often in danger at Dieppe, who amused himself with disputing about the command of the forces, instead of flying to the King's assistance.

Maïenne durst not wait for the junction of all these troops; he disappeared with his army, and left the King master of the field. Henry spoke no longer of keeping in Normandy; he set out again for Paris, which he had quitted with regret. He passed through Meulan and Poissy; and from this place detached me, with the Duke of Montpensier †, to endeavour to perfect a correspondence he had a long time before begun in Vernon, or to seize the city by means of that terror which his approach would cause in it. We found no probability of succeeding in either the one or the other. The Duke of Montpensier returned to Normandy, and I joined the King at Villepreux.

* Sixtus V. presaged, that the Bearnois would be the uppermost, since he was not longer in bed than the Duke of Maïenne was at table. The Duke of Maïenne was extremely slow in all his motions. "If he does not act in another manner," said the King, "I shall certainly beat him always in the field." *Prefixe, ib. part. 2.* The same Pope, after the battle of Arques, applied these words to Henry IV. *Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet*, Psal. xci. 13. Meaning the Duke of Maïenne, the Duke of Savoy, the King of Spain himself.

† Henry of Bourbon-Montpensier, Prince of the blood, the only son of Francis and Renée of Anjou, at that time twenty-seven years old. Henry III. took the government of Bretagne from him, without any cause, to bestow it on the Duke of Mercœur. He soon had reason to repent it.

His design was to alarm Paris, and even to attack it; and as he saw his time, to attempt to make himself master of it. He had taken the precaution to send to demolish the bridge of St Maixance, by which the Duke of Maienne might have been able to assist this great city; for that general, alarmed by the King's march, had also come near Paris by the opposite side, that he might not meet the King. This prince, therefore, gave the necessary orders for attacking all the suburbs at the same time: that of St Germain fell to M. d'Aumont, de Chatillon, and me. As soon as the signal was given, we fell upon this suburb, and having indeed an immense, but a confused and frightened multitude to oppose, we hemmed two considerable troops of soldiers within the inclosure of the market of St Germain; and there, in less than two hundred paces, we left 400 of them in a moment dead upon the place. I could hardly prevail upon myself to kill men whom fear rendered more dead than alive; but putting them out of a condition to resist us, we passed forward, and advanced as far as the gate of Nesle: fifteen or twenty of us entered the city, and went very near to Pont-Neuf; but seeing that our men did not follow us, we turned back. An order from the King to give over the attack was the cause of their abandoning us. The person whom he had sent to demolish the bridge of St Maixance* had discharged this commission so ill, that the Duke of Maienne appeared within sight of

* De Thou observes, that the guard of this bridge was given to William de Montmorency, Lord of Thoré; but being sick at Senlis, he could not defend it. *Book 97.* It was attacked on All-saints day, upon advice sent by James Corbinelly, a Florentine gentleman, to Henry IV. in these three words, "Come, come, come," written in a bit of paper, which the bearer inclosed in a quill, and held in his mouth. They did not carry it for want of cannon to beat down the gates. *Matthieu, vol. 2. b. 1. p. 17. Cayet, vol. 1. p. 270.*

Paris with his whole army, almost at the same moment that we came within view of it ourselves.

The King was now convinced that his enterprize was become impossible, and that although we should make ourselves masters of the city, which on our side would infallibly have happened, an army thus dispersed in a city so extensive as Paris, would have been in danger of being overpowered, having an innumerable multitude of people to oppose within, and an army without to defend ourselves against, which would either have entered after us, or have kept us besieged there. It was thus that the ardor which this prince discovered in battle, did not ever transport him so far as to make him deaf to the counsel of prudence. He thought he had done enough, having created terror in the very heart of that city that dared to despise him, and given it a sensible intimation of what it had to fear from him. Part of the suburbs was pillaged: our soldiers left nothing in that of St Germain*, that they could conveniently carry away. I had for my share full 3000 crowns, and all my men made very considerable booty.

Two days after this expedition, the King went to seize Estampes; and resuming his first design of shewing himself in the heart of the kingdom, at least with a part of his troops, he went towards Tours, and in a short time took a great many little towns in Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Lower

* The Sieurs de Châtillon and La Nouë (says Le Grain, book 5.) assaulted the suburbs of St Germain, Buffly, and Nesle, which were richer and more magnificent than the others, and where they expected to find most resistance, as well upon account of the fine houses that were in the suburb St Germain, which makes its value equal to the second city in France, as the abbey St Germain, which was fortified. Châtillon made it appear, that he remembered St Bartholomew's day, and was resolved to expiate the murder, and appease the manes of the Admiral his father.

Normandy*. He left some troops with the Marechal Biron, who took Evreux, without cannon. I drove the Catholics from before Anfreville. The King gave me all the countries about Mante and Rosny to preserve, with a small body of troops, with which I narrowly missed taking the Duke d'Aumale, as he passed by Rosny. After I joined the Marechal Biron, for the siege of Evreux. I cannot give a more circumstantial account of actions so inconsiderable, and must even suppress the greatest part of them, as it is neither possible, nor to the purpose, to expatiate upon facts so trivial.

I forewarn the public, therefore, to expect in these memoirs a detail only of events of some consideration, and only such as I have been a witness to, or as happened to the King himself. If I join to these any others, they shall only be such whose certainty I can warrant, by the fidelity of memoirs which have fallen into my hands. As for all others, it will be sufficient just to hint at them, that the reader may himself collate the affairs of Henry the Great, in the different periods of time. It was to assist my memory, that I at first committed such traits as most struck me to paper; particularly such discourses as the King held with myself, or as I have heard him hold with others, either upon war or upon politics, in which I apprehended there might be singular benefit to myself. This prince, who perceived it by my sometimes repeating, word for word, what he had spoken, commanded me to put my work in some order, and to extend it. I found great difficulties in this; for my style was among

* Alençon, Le-Mans, Château-Briant, Sablé, Château-Gontier, Maïenne, Laval, Argentan, Falaise, Lisieux, Bâieux, Ponteau-demer, Pont-l'Evêque, Honfleur, Havre-de-Grace, Donfront, &c. *De Thou*, book 97. *D'Aubigné*, vol. 3. b. 3. c. 4. &c. See also the Memoirs of the league, and particular relations of these expeditions printed at that time,

the meanest : but upon the reiterated commands of his Majesty, and his promising to correct it with his own hand, I resumed and continued this work more assiduously. This it was that gave birth to these memoirs. But I return to my subject.

The army of the league sitting down before Pontoise, took it, and afterwards laid siege to Meulan. As I judged this place to be of extreme importance to the King, I endeavoured, by all the methods I could think of, to make its powder hold out *, and to introduce some person into it on whom I could depend, to prevail upon the besieged to stand firm, till assistance, which was very near, arrived. And this I performed, by making a man swim over to it; and in the mean time sent notice to the King of what had passed, and demanded supplies. My redoubled instances determined this prince to come thither himself; but it was with great unwillingness that he left other places, where his presence was no less necessary. "By your importunity, I am upon the road to Meulan." Thus he wrote to me. "If any thing unfortunate should happen, I shall reproach you for ever." It would indeed have appeared very surprising to me, if no misfortune had happened: for this prince leaving all his infantry before Honfleur, brought with him so small a number, that it was impossible for him to sustain the attack of a whole army which pressed Meulan, and would not fail to fall upon him, as soon as it was known how ill he was accompanied.

This I took the liberty to represent to him; and, in effect, he had no sooner left Verneuil to proceed to Ivry, than going out to reconnoitre, I saw the whole army of the league, instructed doubtless of his march, bearing straight upon him. He was

* The Duke of Sully is mentioned with distinction, in the relation of this siege, by De Thou, book 93. and Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 22.

obliged to turn back to Verneuil. It was not ordinary for this prince to give ground before his enemies, nor did he now do it without a good deal of regret. In the first transports of his anger, he accused me of having exposed him to this affront, and of being less solicitous for his reputation, by calling him thither, than careful to preserve my lands from pillage. It was easy for me to justify myself; and this prince, who comprehended the importance of such a place as Meulan, gave orders for all his army to join him.

This produced the effect which I had promised myself. The enemy seeing the army on its march, began to draw their cannon on this side the river, and, without wholly raising the siege, abandoned the care of it, to guard against being surprised.

I sent the King advice of this proceeding, and he thought it proper to hasten his march, to prevent any accident which might occasion the loss of Meulan, and sent me the scouts of his army, that while I waited for his arrival, I might perpetually annoy the besiegers. He came soon after, and entered the fort, where being desirous of observing the enemy's army, he climbed up, with some of us, into the Belfrey*. The besiegers having, at this moment, pointed a battery against this belfrey, demolished the staircase, and obliged the King, and all of us that were with him, to come down with the help of a cord, and a stick passed between our legs. The King, to pay them in the same coin, ordered four pieces of cannon to be raised in this place: which was contrary to my opinion; because I foresaw that the enemy would quickly dismount them; which actually happened before we could derive the

* As Henry IV. was ascending the belfrey of St Nicaise, a cannon-ball passed through his legs. Matth. ib. 24.

least advantage from them, and the besiegers fired there so furiously all day, that we were not able to remove these four pieces till night. The enemy, who had put the river between them and the King, made a terrible attack on the bridge on that side; but this was their last effort. The King posting himself at Orgreux, they were afraid of being overcome, and decamped forthwith.

The Marquis of Alegre had better success, and seized Rouen for the league. I received the news of it at Rosny. The King, who had done every thing to hinder the reduction of this place, marched instantly to Rouen; but upon his arrival at Gail-
lon, he learned that the evil was without remedy. In exchange he went to besiege Dreux, after putting me in garrison in Passy. The Duke of Maïenne, who had just been reinforced with the whole Spanish army, passed the river, and spread his troops all around Mante and Rosny, resolute to raise this siege. The vanguard of this army, which was conducted by one of my relations, that bore my name, had orders from the general to possess himself of Passy in his way. I gave the King notice of his approach; who replied only, that I might do as I pleased. I resolved, therefore, to defend myself; and although M. de Rosny wrote me, representing to me, that it would be rashness to suffer myself to be stormed in a place that had not even walls, and offered me very advantageous conditions *, yet he could gain nothing upon me.

I

* Matthieu mentions this fact, exactly in the same manner as it is here: he even relates the Duke of Sully's reply, in the very words he made use of. "Here is the King ready to give battle; tell the Duke of Maïenne that he is now reckoning upon winning it; and then I will consider whether I am to lose it."

The only difference in the two recitals is, that this officer of the enemy's, who is here called *Rosny*, was, according to Matthieu, the
Baron

I thanked him for his false politeness, and, in the night, caused a ditch to be dug, which served the garrison at least for a shelter. Luckily the enemy had no mind to waste time in so inconsiderable a capture, and wanted only to seize the place as they passed. Next morning, the noise of the baggage gave me to understand, that the army had pursued its route; which drew me out of great perplexity. During the night, which I spent entirely without in fortifying Passy, I thought I saw distinctly two armies fighting in the air *. I know not whether this was a reality or an illusion; but this object made such an impression upon my mind, that I was not surprised at reading a letter next day from the King. He informed me, that the Duke of Maienne's army, joined to the Spaniards, had approached with a design to offer him battle; that he had waited for it till the evening of that day on which he wrote me, but that the whole day had been passed in skirmishing, making lodgments, and securing advantages, and that the general action was put off till the morrow. His letter concluded with these words: "I conjure you therefore to come, and
 "bring all with you that you can, particularly
 "your own company, and the two companies of

Baron de Rosne, one of the general officers of the league. However, to those who read the Memoirs of Sully, it would seem impossible for the error to be on his side. Compare the two writers. *Oeconomies Royales*, &c. vol. 1. p. 71. and Matthieu's hist. vol. 2. b. 1. p. 25.

* Davila, who also takes notice of this phenomenon, book 11. describes it in this manner. "The thunder and lightning, sometimes mingled with horrid darkness, added to their terrors; and such a flood of rain poured suddenly down, that the whole army was alarmed. A prodigious apparition, which appeared in the sky as soon as it had ceased to rain, increased the general consternation; for during the noise of the thunder, at which the stoutest among them trembled, two great armies were distinctly seen in the air, that, after continuing some time engaged in fight, disappeared, covered with a thick cloud; so that the issue of the battle could not be discovered by the spectators."

"Badit

“Badit and James’s horse-arquebusiers that I granted you; for I know them, and would make use of them.”

I was sensible, that, without very great diligence, I should arrive too late for the battle with these companies, which I foresaw the King would be in extreme need of, as he was much inferior in number to the enemy. I therefore lost not a moment, and was fortunate enough to arrive an hour and a half before it began. The King ordered me to make my company pass to the right wing, where his own squadron was, to which he joined it; and making the two companies of arquebusiers dismount, sent their horses amongst the baggage, designing to make use of them as the forlorn hope. After this, he bid me follow him to see the disposition of the two armies, “in order,” added he, “that I may learn my trade.” He had no sooner placed himself at the head of his squadron *, than the trumpets sounded the charge.

I shall attempt nothing here against the rights of historians; I leave it to them to particularise this battle, and shall confine myself only to what I was an eye-witness of. It is sufficient to say, that, upon this occasion, the principal causes that gave the victory to the weaker party, were, the valour of

* “My companions,” said he, addressing himself to his squadron, “if to day you run my fortune, I also run yours. I am resolved to die, or conquer with you; keep your ranks, I beseech you, and if I should quit them in the heat of the battle, rally immediately which will be gaining the victory: you will do it between those three trees which you see up there on the right: and if you should lose sight of your ensigns, your cornettes, or your standards, keep my white plume of feathers always in view; you shall ever find them in the road to honour and to victory.” *Prefixe, ibid. part 2.* They lost sight of him in the battle, where, accompanied only by twelve or thirteen persons, he was surrounded by the enemy. He killed the Count of Egmont’s equerry with his own hand. “We must use our pistols,” said he to his troop, “the more men the more glory.” *Matthieu, vol. 2. book 1. p. 26. &c.*

the Marechal d'Aumont, who prevented the entire defeat of the light horse; the infinite difference between the enemy's manner of using their artillery and ours; and more than all this, the singular talents of the King, which were never so perfectly known as in the day of battle, in the disposition of his troops, rallying them, their discipline, and their exact and ready obedience.

It is certain the Duke of Maienne, and the Count of Egmont, who were at the head of the Spaniards, imagined, that if the King durst wait for them, the victory would certainly be theirs; and that, if he yielded, or gave ground before them, as they expected, they did not reckon upon any thing less, than forcing him out of whatever place he should retreat to, and thus finishing the war at a single blow. With such dispositions, what must be the consequence? I say nothing of the persons of the generals, who alone are worth many thousand men. The stronger party never makes use of those precautions that are necessary against an enemy of equal strength; and, upon the other hand, the weaker never forms a resolution to defend itself against a more numerous army, without determining likewise to supply, by valour and address, the deficiency of numbers. The surprise that a courage, animated by glory and difficulties, creates, assists a small number against a greater: by this all become in some sort equal.

The King's squadron * where I was, had the attacks

* See upon this action De Thou, book 58. D'Aubigné, vol. 3. book 3. chap. 3. Le Grain, book 5. Memoirs of the league. Father Matthieu, id. Chron. Noven. vol. 2. p. 327. and an account printed in 1590, and others.

De Thou and Cayet observe, that Henry IV.'s artillery had fired nine times before the Duke of Maienne's began; they also blame the Duke for having disposed his army in the form of a crescent, like Henry's, when, being superior in number, he ought to have given it
the

tacks of the Count of Egmont to sustain, who fell upon us with his own squadron, and a second of 1000 or 1200 German horse. It is true, the Germans, who professed the same religion as our soldiers did, fired almost in the air : but the Count of Egmont, we must do him justice, behaved like a man who was determined to conquer. He charged us with such fury, that, notwithstanding the desertion of the Germans, after a terrible fire, and an encounter which lasted a full quarter of an hour, and covered the earth with dead bodies, the left of our squadron fled, and the right was broke and gave ground. At the first onset, my horse was wounded in the nostrils, and in the neck at a second, where the saddle did not reach, and a third brought him quite down, carrying away two of his feet, and a piece of flesh off the calf of my leg. I received another wound in my hand. A pistol-shot gave me a third wound more considerable ; the ball entered my hip, and came out near my belly. I should have infallibly perished, if my equerry had not run to my assistance with another horse, upon which I mounted, though with a good deal of difficulty. This affection brought many wounds upon

the form of a triangle. According to Matthieu, Henry IV. was guilty of a great fault, in not beginning the battle, by falling upon the light horse commanded by Du-Terrail, and upon the Duke of Maienne's body, who, having advanced too far, was obliged to go half a league about in retreating. It appears, that the cavalry only fought there ; and, if we believe Le-Grain, 1200 horse defeated an army of 20,000 men. But here is a little exaggeration. The King's army was composed of about 2000 cavalry, and 6 or 700 infantry ; and the league's consisted of 5000 horse and 8000 foot. The Count of Egmont, who had boasted that his squadron alone was sufficient to subdue the royal army, was slain in the fight. He was the son of L'Amiral d'Egmont, who was beheaded at Brussels with the Count of Horne. It is said, that when he came to Paris, the person who complimented him, mixed in his discourse some praises of L'Amiral his father. " Do not mention him," he replied ; " he was a rebel, and " deserved to die."

poor Maignan, and had like to have cost him his life.

At a second charge, this horse was likewise slain, and in the same moment I received a pistol-shot in the thigh, and a cut with a sword on the head. I remained upon the spot, and with my senses lost all the remaining part of the action, which, from the advantage the Count of Egmont had already gained, boded, I thought, no good to us: and most certainly the King had been vanquished, if all the rest of the enemy's army had behaved in the same manner. All that I know is, that, a long time after, recovering my senses, I saw neither enemies, nor any of my domestics near me, whom fear or disorder had dispersed; another presage which appeared to me no less unfavourable.

I retired without a head-piece, and almost without armour, for my own had been battered to pieces. In this condition I saw a trooper of the enemy's running towards me, with an intention upon my life. By good fortune I found myself near a pear-tree, under which I crept, and with that little motion I was still capable of, made such good use of the branches, which were extremely low, that I evaded all my adversary's attempts, and kept him at a distance, who being weary with turning round the tree, at last quitted me. Feuquieres had not the like good fortune; I saw him killed that moment before my eyes. Just then La-Rocheforêt (who has since been with me) passing by, I asked him for a little nag which he was leading, and paid him for it upon the spot thirty crowns. I always believed, that on such occasions it is proper to carry a little money about one.

Thus mounted, I was going to learn news of the battle, which I believed to be lost, when I saw seven of the enemy coming straight towards me, one of whom carried the white standard belonging
to

to the Duke of Maienne's company. I thought it impossible to escape this new danger; and upon their crying *Qui vive?* I told my name, as being ready to surrender myself a prisoner. What was my surprise, when, instead of attacking me, I found four of these persons intreating me to receive themselves for prisoners, and to save their lives; and while they ranged themselves about me, appearing charmed at having met with me! I granted their request: and it seemed so surprising to me, that four men unhurt, and well armed, should surrender themselves to a single man, disarmed, covered with his own blood, mounted upon a little paltry nag, and scarce able to support himself, that I was tempted to take all I saw for an illusion, or the effect of my wounds. I was soon undeceived. My prisoners, (since they would be so) made themselves known for Mess. de Châtaigneraie, de Sigogne*, de Chanteloup, and d'Aufreville. They told me, that the Duke of Maienne had lost the battle; that the King was that moment in pursuit of the vanquished, which had obliged them to surrender, for fear of falling into worse hands, their horses not being in a condition to carry them out of danger: at the same time Sigogne, in token of surrender, presented me with the white standard. The three others, who were the Duke of Nemours, the Chevalier d'Aumale, and Tremont, not seeming inclined to surrender, I endeavoured to persuade them, by good reasons, that they ought to do so; but in vain. Af-

* John de Vivonne, Lord of Châtaigneraie. Charles de Beaumont, Lord of Sigogne, Cornet of the Duke of Maienne's company. The historians take notice of the prisoners M. de Rosny took in this encounter, and the wounds he received, to the number of seven. It was for some time believed, that Henry IV. was slain. What probably occasioned this false report was, that the Marquis of Nessel, who that day had dressed himself like the King, was seen surrounded by the enemy, and wounded in several places, of which he died. *Matthieu, ib.*

ter recommending their four comrades to me, seeing a body of the victors advance, they rode away, and shewed me that their horses were still vigorous enough to bear them from their enemies.

I advanced with my prisoners towards a battalion of Swiss, and meeting one of the King's chief pages, I gave him the charge of the standard, which was a burden too heavy for me. I then saw more plainly the marks of our victory. The field was full of the fugitive leaguers and Spaniards, and the victorious army * of the King pursuing, and scattering the rest of the large bodies, that had dispersed, or gathered together. The Swiss soldiers of the two armies meeting, bullied each other with their pikes lowered, without striking a blow, or making any motion.

The white standard embroidered with black flowers-de-luce, was known by every one to be that of the Guises, which they bore in memory, and through horror of the assassination of Blois, and attracted all, as to a prey equally rich and honourable. The black velvet coats of my prisoners, which were covered with silver crosses, were resplendent from afar in the field. The first who flew to seize them, were Mess. de Cambrai, de l'Archant, du Roller, de Crevecœur, de Palcheux, and de Brasseuse, who were joined by the Count de Torigny. I advanced

* The King cried, "Spare the French, and fall upon the foreigners." *Prefixe, ibid. part 2.* Henry (says the author of the *Henriade*) owed this victory to the superiority of his skill and valour. But he confessed, that Maïenne had performed all the duties of a great general; he had no fault, he said, but in the cause he supported. The Duke of Maïenne would have been taken, but for his precaution in breaking the bridge of Ivry as he fled. But by that means he butchered the German horse and foot, 1200 of which were killed upon the spot; a like number of French infantry, and 1000 horse. Some have made the loss much greater. Of the royalists, 500 private men and about 20 gentlemen were killed. This battle was fought between Dreux and Nonancourt, at the villages of St André and Foucrainville,

towards

towards them, and supposing they would not know my face, altogether disfigured by blood and dust, I named myself. The Count de Torigny no sooner knew La-Châtaigneraie, who was his relation, than judging that, in the condition he saw me, I could not preserve my prisoners from insult, he intreated me to give Châtaigneraie to his care, for whom he would be answerable to me. I readily granted his request, yet it was with regret that I saw him go away. What Torigny did through a principle of friendship, had in effect a fatal consequence for the unhappy Châtaigneraie. He was known some moments after by three men belonging to d'O's company, who had been guards to Henry III. These men levelling their pieces at him, shot him dead, crying, " 'Sdeath! " thou traitor to thy King, whom thou hast murdered, and triumphed in the deed."

I might have made the Count of Torigny pay this prisoner's ransom, and I was counselled by several persons to do so; but I could not resolve to add this new cause of affliction to what he already felt for the death of a man, with whom I had myself been particularly acquainted.

I was not long ere I was surrounded by many persons, amongst whom there was not one that did not envy my good fortune. D'Andelot came after the rest, and pressing through the croud, perceived Sigogne, and the page who carried the standard. He was preparing to seize it, believing his good destiny had kept this prey for him, when a report that the enemy had rallied, obliged him to depart abruptly. I had not time to draw him out of his error; for after he had bid the page keep that standard for him, he suddenly disappeared. The intelligence was found to be false, and had no other foundation than the arrival of 200 soldiers from Picardy, which Mess. de Moy and de la Boissiere had brought to the Duke of Maienne.

Being

Being now disengaged from the croud, and having need of help, especially for the wound in my hip, by which I lost a great deal of blood, I advanced with my prize to the head of Vignoles's regiment, which had behaved bravely in the battle. Here, fearing no further surprise, I ordered a surgeon to bind up my wound, and desired some wine, to prevent fainting, which I found coming upon me. My strength being a little recovered, I got to Anet, the keeper of which gave me an apartment, where I caused the first dressing to be put on my wounds, in presence of the Marechal Biron, who spent a few moments there after my arrival, and took a collation in my chamber. He was conducting the corps de reserve, which he commanded, to the King, who, without stopping after his victory, had passed the river of Eure, in pursuit of the enemy; and, as it was reported to me, had taken at last the road to Rosny, where he lay the same night *.

After

* That night he supped at the castle of Rosny. Being informed that the Marechal d'Aumont was come to give him an account of what he had done, he rose up to meet him, and embracing him affectionately, made him sit down at his table, with these obliging words, that it was but just, that he who had served him so well at his nuptials, should share in the feast. *Prefixe, ibid. part 2.*

Prefixe, in the same place, relates another circumstance, which does honour to the King. He remembered, that, the evening before the battle, he had used some harsh expressions to Col. Theodoric Schomberg, who had asked him for money, and told him in a passion, that it was not acting like a man of honour to demand money, when he came to take orders for fighting. He afterwards went to him, when he was ranging his troops in order, and said, "Colonel, we are now upon the point; perhaps I shall never go from this place; it is not just that I should deprive a brave gentleman as you are of your honour; I come therefore to declare, that I know you to be an honest man, and incapable of committing a base action." Saying this, he embraced him with great affection. The Colonel, sensibly moved with this behaviour, replied, with tears in his eyes, "Ah! Sire, in restoring to me my honour of which you had deprived me, you deprive me of my life; for after this, I should be unworthy

" of

After the Marechal Biron was gone, D'Andelot arrived at Anet, full of resentment against me for wresting from him his prize, for so he thought it. He entered my chamber, attended by five or six armed men, and, with an air equally fierce and insulting, demanded an explanation, or rather sought to do himself justice : for perceiving the white standard, which, with that belonging to my company, had been placed at the head of my bed, he would have taken possession of it by force, without attending to what I said to him. I changed my tone immediately, and words run high on the one part and on the other. In the condition wherein I was, I could do no more. But as he spoke with transport, and made use of threats, the noise drew fifteen or twenty of my armed troopers into the chamber, at the sight of whom D'Andelot restraining his rage, went out, commanding Sigogne to follow him, which he refused, endeavouring, but in vain, to make him comprehend the injustice of his pretensions.

The next morning I caused myself to be carried by water to Passy, with an intention to go from that to Rosny, to get myself cured. On my arrival at Passy, I learned that part of the soldiers in my train, and my valets, with all my baggage, had retired thither, not knowing what was become of me, and intimidated by a false report which was spread, that the King had lost the battle. Being apprehensive of the reproaches I might make them, they kept themselves concealed. I caused them to

" of your favour, if I did not sacrifice it to-day for your service. If
 " I had a thousand lives, I would lay them all at your feet." In
 fact, he was killed upon this occasion. *Ibid.*

The Marechal Biron, who, at the head of the corps de reserve, had greatly contributed towards this victory, said to Henry IV. " Sire,
 " you have performed what Biron should, and Biron has done that
 " which the King ought to have done."

be

be sought for, but they were so much ashamed of having discovered their cowardice, that the night following they fled away on foot; nor have I since been ever able to learn what became of them. They left all my baggage behind them, with four of their own horses, which I ordered to be sold by auction, and I distributed the money among their wounded companions.

As I was not in a condition to endure a horse, I ordered a kind of litter, composed of the branches of trees, with the bark still on, and the hoops of some vessels, to be made for me in haste, and travelled by Beurons, to avoid the ascents and declivities of Rougevoie and Châtillon.

Maignan, who was a youth full of gaiety and imagination, thought proper to give this march the air of a little triumph. Two of the grooms of my stable were at the head of this train, each leading one of my finest horses; they were followed by my pages, one of whom rode on my horse, the same who having received three wounds in the battle, and being thrown to the ground by a fourth, got up again without a saddle, and running about the field of battle, was fortunately known by three of my arquebusiers. This page carried my cuirass, and the Duke of Maïenne's standard, the other bore my bracelets, and my helmet, all so bruised and battered, that they were no longer of any use. My equerry, the contriver of this pleasant fancy, marched next, his head bound up, and his arm in a scarf; he was followed by Moreines, my valet de chambre, dressed in my coat of orange-coloured velvet, with thin plates of silver, and mounted upon my English nag, holding in his hand, as a trophy, a bundle of the shivers of my pistols, the broken pieces of my swords, and the fragments of my plume of feathers. The litter in which I lay came next, covered only with a cloth, upon which they had hung the black velvet

velvet coats of my prisoners, with their plumes, and pieces of their pistols and swords at the four corners. These prisoners themselves followed my litter, and preceded the rest of my domestics; after whom, ranged in order, came my own company of household troops, and the march was closed with James's and Baddit's two companies of arquebusiers. They were so massacred, that you could see nothing among them, but heads bound up, and arms in scarfs; and some of these brave soldiers were even obliged to make themselves be carried.

When we came near Beurons, we perceived all the plain covered with horses and dogs; and the King himself, who, after a slight repast, had returned from Rosny to Mante, hunting in my warren. This shew seemed to rejoice him; he thought it very happily disposed, and smiled at the vanity of Maignan, who had the honour of being known to this prince, ever since his father, who was a very brave man, had distinguished himself at the taking of Eause. The King approached my litter, and, in the sight of his whole train, disdained not to descend to all the testimonies of sensibility that a friend (if I may be permitted to make use of this term) could render to his friend. I could not express my acknowledgment by throwing myself at his feet, but I assured him, and with truth, that I would suffer with pleasure a thousand times more for his service. He had made himself acquainted with all the hazards I had run in the battle. He inquired, with an obliging anxiety, whether all my wounds were of such a nature, that I might hope to be cured without mutilating any part of my body, which he thought almost impossible, knowing that I had been thrown down senseless, and trampled under the horses feet. When he was convinced that I had nothing to fear, he cast himself

self on my neck, and turning to the princes and the grandees who followed him, he said aloud, that he honoured me with the title of a true and honest chevalier, a title which, he said, he regarded as superior to that of a chevalier companion of his orders. He was afraid of exposing me to speak too much, and finished this agreeable conversation with his ordinary protestation, that I should share in all the good things that Heaven might send him; and, without giving me any time to answer, left me with saying, "Adieu, my friend; take care of yourself; and be assured you have a good master." There are princes who are capable of gratitude; but how rarely is this sentiment augmented, or even preserved, in good fortune!

B O O K IV.

THE same day that the King gained the battle of Ivry, his party also obtained a victory at Auvergne, where Randan commanded the troops of the league. But fortune, it would seem, when she gave this prince successes sufficient to put him in possession of many crowns, took pleasure, at the same time, in producing circumstances which hindered the effect, and left him of his victories only the glory of having vanquished. After the battle of Ivry, terror and consternation seized the whole party of the league, so that it seemed hardly possible for the King, who was at this time attentive to avail himself of all his advantages, to have failed of drawing very great ones. Nor did he expect to see them ravished from him by a general mutiny of his army, particularly of the Swiss, who refused to advance a step further, till they were paid the sums which the King owed them.

This



PART OF
ST GEORGES
CHANNEL

THE ENGLISH CHANNEL

NORTH SEA

BRABANT

PART OF

LUXEM

GERMANY

SWITZERLAND

SAVOY

PART OF

ITALY

GENOA

MEDITERRANEAN

SPAIN

SEA

A New and
ACCURATE MAP
OF FRANCE
with its
AQUISITIONS
Composed
from the latest Surveys,
assisted by the most approved
modern Maps & Charts,
& Regulated by Astronomical Observations.
Engraved by Tho: Phinn EDIN.

English & French Leagues 20 to a Degree

East Longitude from London

This prince had then neither money nor means in readiness to recover any. He came to Mante, to demand some of the superintendant of the finances. This man, who secretly bore a mortal hatred to the King, and beheld his success with grief, took pleasure in augmenting his embarrassment, and had but one answer to make to all his instances. In this time of confusion, when the royal treasure became a prey to the first invader, the finances were very difficult to manage, and the King's revenues scarcely sufficient to satisfy the avidity of the receivers, which ordinarily increased with public misery. Henry wanted that absolute authority, which alone was able to check them, and still more the means of convicting them of any misdemeanor; for he had not the slightest knowledge of the affairs of the finances. Notwithstanding this, he entered, contrary to his inclination, into a detail which became necessary for him, and obliged d'O to remit certain sums, which it was not difficult to see had passed through his hands. These sums he made use of to pacify his soldiers: but this affair took up at least five days, during which the King could not leave Mante, or, by consequence, derive any advantage from his victory. I remember to have heard this prince declare, that at this moment, for the first time in his life, he saw himself in a situation to convert his desires into designs: "for I have often had desires," said he, "but never found the season to form designs." He took this last term in the signification that all wise men give it, for a project, the success of which is warranted by reflection and prudence. In this sense indeed a man may incline to take what seems right in his own opinion, without prejudice to any other person; but fools only rashly engage in designs, without any appearance of succeeding in them.

During the King's stay at Mante, D'Andelot went to him to complain of me; and this prince gave himself the trouble to come to Rosny, that he might hear us both. D'Andelot was there generally blamed, and the raillery his ridiculous pretension drew upon him from the principal officers, made such an impression on his mind, that he went over to the party of the league. I did not think the same justice was done me with regard to the government of Mante, the taking of which was almost the only fruit of the battle of Ivry. The King, of whom I requested this post, gratified the Catholics*, at which I could not help making loud complaints. I confess, to my confusion, that if I had seriously reflected upon the situation the King was then in, every moment upon the point of being abandoned by the foreigners for want of payment, and those Catholics that were in his service, ready to seize the slightest occasion of discontent for a pretence to quit him, I should not have murmured that he granted to a Catholic, who had but little affection to his person, what he refused to a faithful servant. There was more greatness of mind in being satisfied with the friendship of this prince, without its effects, than in receiving favours, which he was obliged to adjust to policy, and to the necessity of the times.

All obstacles being removed, the King advanced with his troops, took Dreux, and marched towards Sens, which he expected to have surrendered through the correspondence he held within the city; but this failed, and Henry, unwilling to have come so far in vain, and being besides informed that the place was unprovided with ammunition, he undertook the siege of it. It was not long before he found himself, through the malice of his secret e-

* This government was given to M. de Rosny's youngest brother.
nemies,

nemies, in a general want of all things necessary to finish this enterprize, and was therefore obliged to abandon it. To efface the shame, he gave out, that he raised this siege, only in order to go and invest Paris itself, and he took his route thither by Corbeil, Meulan, Lagny, and St Denis, which he made himself master of in his way.

I was not at any of these sieges; and my wounds were not yet even half cured, when I learned that the King was before Paris. I could not resist the desire I had to be present at this expedition; I set out, with my arm in a scarf, and supported by two crutches. The King, forgetting all my complaints, received me with his usual goodness, and commanded me to stay near his person. He communicated to me the design he had formed upon Paris, all the suburbs of which he was resolved to make himself master of at the same time, in order to deprive the city of the subsistence it drew from them, such as fruit, vegetables, &c. He divided his army into ten little bodies, to equal the number of the suburbs he designed to storm; and having made choice of the night for the execution of his scheme, he withdrew to the mountain of Montmartre, to be able to send supplies where-ever there was occasion for them. He placed himself in an abbey, where he was not only followed by the wounded, who could not partake in the glory of this night, but by all the aged, and the gentlemen of the robe and the pen. He gave me a place at the window from which he beheld the action; during which he conversed with Du-Plessis, Rusé, de Fresne, Alibour, and me.

The attack began at midnight, with a terrible noise of artillery, which was answered by the city. There was not one person, who did not think that this immense city would be destroyed, either by the fire, or by the infinity of mines kindled in its

intrails. Never was there a spectacle more capable of inspiring horror. Thick clouds of smoke, through which darted by intervals sparks of fire, or long trains of flames, covered all that place of the world, which, by the vicissitude of light and darkness, appeared plunged in black darkness, or buried in an ocean of fire. The thunder of the artillery, the noise of arms, and the cries of the combatants, added to this object all that can be imagined frightful, which was moreover redoubled by the natural horror of night. This scene continued two whole hours, and ended with the reduction of all the suburbs, not excepting that of St Antoine; although, by its great extent, we had been obliged to begin the attack at a considerable distance. They blocked up the city-gates, so that nothing could now enter without the permission of those who guarded them; and the people immediately saw themselves reduced to an excess of misery and famine, which I cannot yet think of without horror.

I must be permitted to pass rapidly over this place; I find no pleasure in enlarging upon so dreadful a subject. The King, naturally compassionate, was touched. He could not bear the thought, of seeing this city, the empire of which was destined for him by Providence, become one vast burial-place. He underhand permitted every thing that could contribute to its relief, and shut his eyes to the supplies of provisions which the officers and soldiers suffered to enter the city, either out of compassion to their relations and friends who were in it, or with a design to make the citizens purchase them at a high price. Doubtless he imagined this conduct would gain him, in the end, the hearts of the Parisians: but he was deceived; they enjoyed his benefits, without ceasing to look upon him as the author of the public misery; and, elated with the Prince of Parma's arrival, they insulted him,
who

who only raised the siege because he discovered himself too sensible to the misfortunes of the besieged*.

To justify an action, in itself as much blamed by the masters in the art of war, as praised for its

* Perefixe, Cayet, and many others, are also of opinion, that the King was with-held from taking Paris by storm, and from yielding to the repeated intreaties of his soldiers, particularly the Huguenots, by his having perceived, that on this occasion they were resolved to revenge the massacre of St Bartholomew, by putting all within Paris to the sword. The Duke of Nemours, says Perefixe, sent all useless mouths out of Paris: the King's council opposed his granting them passage; but the King, being informed of the dreadful scarcity to which these miserable wretches were reduced, ordered that they should be allowed to pass. "I am not surpris'd," said he, "that the Spaniards, and the chiefs of the league, have no compassion upon these poor people; they are only tyrants: as for me, I am their father and their king, and cannot bear the recital of their calamities, without being pierced to my inmost soul, and ardently desiring to bring them relief." *Perefixe, part 2.* The Cardinal de Gondy, Bishop of Paris, having been sent, during this siege, to make Henry propositions for peace: "I will not dissemble," said he, "but discover my sentiments to you freely. I am willing to grant you peace, I desire it myself; I would give one finger to have a battle, and two to have a general peace. I love my city of Paris, I am jealous of her, I am desirous of doing her service, and would grant her more favours than the demands of me; but I would grant them voluntarily, and not be compelled to it by the King of Spain or the Duke of Maëenne." It may be added, that Henry IV. expected the Parisians would capitulate before the Prince of Parma's arrival. The extremity to which this city was reduced, raised at once compassion and horror. In the space of a month, 30,000 persons died of hunger; mothers fed upon the flesh of their children; by the Spanish ambassador's advice, they dug up the dead bodies, and made use of their bones pounded, to compose a kind of paste. This detestable food cost the greatest part of those that eat of it their lives. See a relation of this in the historians, particularly in Villeroy's *Memoirs of state*, p. 358. &c. Read also the fine verses of the *Henriade* upon this subject, canto 10. The Parisians owed their safety chiefly to the Duke of Nemours, whose gallant defence has been lightly praised by our writers. The people seconded him with an obstinate eagerness, which had more of fury than true courage in it. A regiment of priests and monks were seen there, Capuchins, Feuillans, Carthusians, &c. grotesquely armed above their frocks. This awkward regiment being eager to salute the legate, killed his secretary at his side. The monks of St Genevieve, the Celestins, and some others, would have no part in the military massacre. *Cayet's Chron. Noven. ib.* 360.

principle thoroughly humane, the King spread a report, that he had raised the siege of Paris, only to meet the Prince of Parma, and, by a decisive action, to terminate a war already too long. He made use of all the precautions necessary to secure a safe retreat from a city so populous as Paris, and commanded every one to hold themselves in readiness for a general signal; to the end that, all the suburbs being evacuated in a moment, no person might remain at the mercy of the populace. This retreat required great wisdom and conduct, and was happily effected on the 1st or 2d of September in the same year; after which the whole army arrived at the common rendezvous, without meeting with any inconvenience.

The King * knowing that the Prince of Parma was in the neighbourhood of Meaux, posted himself between this city and Paris, and made his light horse advance as far as Claye; where the two camps being so contiguous one to the other, that an infinity of smart encounters ensued. The King, upon the Marechal Biron's representations, preferred to this post that of Chelles, and went thither contrary to his own opinion; because he looked upon this post to be more advantageous, and at the same time fitter to shut up the road to Paris from the enemy's general; for he had still some views upon the city, and carried on a correspondence within it, which, if the Prince of Parma had entered, would have failed him, as it did without this. The King therefore occupied a rising ground, which on one side presented nothing to view but a deep valley and a morass, that took away all possibility of acting in

* De Thou says, that Henry IV. was obliged to pretend, that he only raised the siege of Paris in order to go and meet the Prince of Parma, and to give him battle; for fear that his soldiers, whom nothing but the hopes of the pillage of Paris had prevailed upon to stay with him, should have abandoned him.

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that place. The Prince of Parma no sooner perceived this, than he incamped on a hill opposite to this. It was neither his design nor his interest to hazard a battle, but to be a check upon us; his camp answered this purpose most exactly, as he was there sheltered from all insult, and out of the reach of the cannon. The King became sensible of the error, which too much complaisance had drawn him into; when, after remaining two or three days in this position, he saw Lagny taken before his eyes, without being able to hinder it*.

This event, joined to his raising the siege of Paris, gave him sensible uneasiness, because he perceived that it might be concluded from thence, that the enemy was superior to him in capacity, which this prince considered as a matter of extreme importance in war. What troubled him still more, was, that none were more ready to believe, or even to spread, these disadvantageous reports, than the Catholics of his own army. He could but little rely upon the arms of those whose hearts he did not possess. The King, moreover, knew that the disobedience of his soldiers, and the want of money, which he suffered, were effectuated by the same persons; and he concluded, that this disposition with

* The Duke of Sully is more candid than the greatest part of the historians, who will not confess that Henry IV. committed any fault upon this occasion. They cannot agree amongst themselves, either about the raising the siege of Paris, or all these different incampments. Villeroy, in his Memoirs, mentions this circumstance in the same manner as Sully does; and attributes to that one fault, of preferring the post of Chelles to Claye, all the honour the Prince of Parma gained, by obliging the King to raise the siege of Paris, without coming to a battle; the taking of Lagny, &c. *vol. 1. p. 190. vol. 2. p. 466.* See likewise upon all these expeditions Matthieu, *ibid. p. 53. &c.* and the other historians. The Prince of Parma was desirous of seeing Paris, and entered it incognito. "I am informed," said he, to the Duke of Maïenne, "that the King of Navarre makes more use of boots than shoes, and that one can ruin him sooner by de-lay than by force." Cayet's Chron. Noven. *ibid. p. 390.*

regard to him was an incurable malady, which his good or his bad fortune equally rankled. Such, in effect, is the antipathy of which religion is the principle; and, in the sequel, the King often and severely experienced it.

He took a prudent part, and the only one that was left him. He no longer persisted in his design of taking Paris, which so many circumstances concurred to frustrate. He quitted his camp at Chelles, where he run great hazards with an army so little connected in interest with its chief, and even suddenly abandoning all those quarters, retreated to the river of Oise, and settled at Creil; where, without ceasing to harass the Prince of Parma, he suffered him slowly to consume of himself. During all this time, he made no other motions than what served to keep his army from being enervated by idleness. He engaged it in the siege of Clermont, and employed it in frequent detachments. My company he posted in the neighbourhood of Mante, to keep the country of Chartraine, and part of the isle of France, in order. I obtained leave to continue near his person, though I was not in a condition to do him any great services; the wound in my hip not permitting me to sit my horse, but with great uneasiness and awkwardness; and that in my elbow took away the use of one of my hands.

It happened as the King had foreseen. The Prince of Parma forthwith boasted of his advantage in being master of the field; and to make use of it, he laid siege to Corbeil. The King had provided this place, as well as all the other royalist towns, with whatever was necessary to support a long siege. The enemy's general did not expect this, and was greatly astonished at the firm resistance of Rigaut, governor of Corbeil, whom he a long time despaired of subduing. He thought his honour was engaged, and in the end he succeeded. It was with this only exploit,

exploit, however, that the campaign was concluded. He had bought it too dear to attempt a second at the same price; and not being able to effect any thing upon the King's army, more than upon his towns, he thought it wisest to return to the Low Countries; to the extreme regret of the league, whom his presence had greatly relieved.

He judged, like an able general, that the King, who had (so to speak) closed his eyes upon all his advances, would open them upon his retreat; and that this would not be effected with the same ease as the rest. He was not mistaken; but he conducted with so much prudence, that one may say he prevented the last misfortune which probably had happened to any other. He could not however do so well, but that the King, by an infinite number of attacks and skirmishes, sometimes beat up his quarters effectually, and brought him within a finger-breadth of his ruin. The most considerable of these little battles, was at the passage over the river of Aïne. It was upon this occasion, that the Baron de Biron engaged himself so far amidst the enemy's battalions, that if the King had not run thither in person, with as many of us as were about him, and made a powerful effort to bring him off, he would have certainly lost his life there, or at least his liberty.

I was well enough to keep my rank with the rest during this whole march, which was an excellent school for a soldier to learn his trade in. It no less justified the conduct the King had till then observed, than it did him honour by the manner in which he executed it. Laying aside only the terms of shame and ignominy, which the courtiers, eager to please this prince, joined (in my opinion unjustly enough) to the Prince of Parma's retreat, it is true, that the manner in which the King knew to render an army useless, that had promised itself the conquest of
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all France, his hardiness in attacking a powerful enemy, who retreated not through weakness, and his address in seizing all advantages, were a subject of admiration to persons consummate in the art, and equally struck the eyes of the ignorant *. The King's conduct also upon this occasion gave his partizans new courage. Many towns surrendered, and some Catholics came over to his party; among others, the Duke of Nevers, who brought his troops along with him, either because he began to be afraid of him, or because he was disgusted with the league.

It was not such allies as these that I wished the King. I found he dearly bought by his deferences the assistance of a man, who might indeed have been of some use to him; but who, to speak my own opinion, only increased the number of his secret enemies in the council †. It is thus I denominate all those interested Catholics, who carried every thing there with a high hand, and thought they had a right to prescribe laws to Henry.

During this prince's stay in the neighbourhood of Mante, I took Gisors, by means of a correspondence which a gentleman in my company, named *Fourges*, carried on with his father, who was in

* Henry IV. (says Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 59.), when he was in pursuit of the Prince of Parma, stole away from Attichy, and went, for the first time, to see the beautiful Gabriella at Cœuvres. He contented himself with eating some bread and butter at the gate, that he might not raise any suspicion in her father. Afterwards mounting his horse, he said, he was going towards the enemy, and that the fair-one should soon hear what he had done for the love of her.

† By all the letters that passed between the Duke of Nevers and Henry III. which are at the end of vol. I. of the Memoirs that bear his name, it appears that the Duke of Nevers served this prince effectually against the league, but without any kindness to the King of Navarre. When he joined this prince, their reciprocal letters shew, that the services he did Henry IV. were considerable indeed, but that he exacted a very high price for them, and that it was with difficulty Henry bore with his caprice, his jealousy, and his bad temper.

the place. I did not imagine the government of this city would have now been refused me; but it happened in this instance as it had done in all others. Mess. de Nevers, d'O, and other Catholics, put in practice all those low artifices, which procured them all the favours that ought only to have been the recompense of services, and prevailed upon the King to give this post to one of their religion.

I was too sincere to hide my thoughts of such injustice; I chose to explain myself to the King, at the very time when all these gentlemen might hear what I said, and concealed nothing that lay upon my heart. The King, a much abler politician than I, did not seem to be touched with my invectives against the Catholic party, although he secretly agreed that I did not injure it. He only answered me coldly, "I perceive you are heated at present; we shall speak another time." "We must allow him to talk," added he, after I retired: "he is of an hasty humour, and has even some kind of reason: however, he will never be guilty of any thing base or wicked; for he is a good man, and loves honour." In the first moment of my discontent, I left my company to the care of my lieutenant, and went to take a tour in the valley of Aillant, and to Combrailles, upon my wife's estate, taking only along with me six gentlemen, and my domestics. I did not expect to be employed in any military functions in this journey. While I was at Bontin, the Count of Tonnerre engaged me, to second an enterprise that he made upon Joigny. His design was to force with a petard a postern-gate, which for a long time before had not been opened, and through that to enter the town. Tonnerre, for this exploit, had only 200 arquebusiers, which he had got together in haste. They followed him about three hundred paces into the city; but here their leader being thrown down, by a shot from an arquebuse,

arquebuse, fear began to seize them, and they hastily retreated towards the postern, carrying the wounded Count along with them. Their danger, or only their fear, redoubling, they had the baseness to leave him upon the pavement, about thirty paces from the postern; where he would have been cut to pieces by the citizens, if I had not flown to his assistance, with only twenty men: for, notwithstanding all my endeavours, I could not prevail upon those cowardly soldiers to face about. However, I disengaged Tonnerre, who took the road to Gien, of which he was governor; after which I mustered up his brave troop, and resumed my way to Bontin.

The remembrance of the King's former goodness to me, and an invincible inclination, drew me towards him. I found him occupied in the siege of Chartres*; the taking of which was principally owing to the valour and address of Chatillon†. I was prevented from being present at this siege, by an adventure which I must reckon among the most perilous I was ever engaged in, in my whole life; nor have the intentions of the authors of it, or even their names, ever come to my knowledge.

Returning from an assault which Chatillon made upon the body of the place, by means of a bridge of a new and a very ingenious structure, the King, who observed that my former ardour for his service

* The magistrate of this city made him a very long harangue; and telling him, that he acknowledged the city was subject to the King, by divine and human right; the King, out of patience at his prolixity, interrupted him, pushing forward his horse to enter, and said, "Ay, and add also by the cannon law." *F. Chalon's history of France*, vol. 3. p. 227. This siege was long and bloody. See Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 63.; Cayet, vol. 2. p. 415.; and other historians.

† Francis de Coligny, son to the Admiral, and Admiral of Guyenne. He died this year, 1591, in his castle of Louve, thirty years old, leaving three sons. The Calvinist party had a great loss in him; for it is believed, that if he had lived, he would even have excelled his father. *De Thou*, book 102. Three sons of D'Andelot, the Admiral's brother, died at one time, in the year 1586. *Book 85.*

was not diminished, called me, and commanded me to bring my company before Chartres. I was obliged to go myself, and fetch it, at the same time to take the funds necessary for its maintenance. About three leagues from Mante, near the town of Touvery, I saw a brigade of twenty horse in the field, which I ordered Tilly to reconnoitre. Upon his information that they bore white scarfs, I advanced without fear or precaution: as for them, continuing their route, as if they had not even remarked us, they entered into the wood; from which, according to the course of the road I had taken, I could not expect to see them come out. I rode on with Tilly, La-Poterie, and La Ruë, before the rest of my troop, which consisted only of six other gentlemen, and four servants, who followed at some distance separately. These troopers, or robbers, I know not what name to give them, knew the forest perfectly, and had taken their measures so well, that they met us at the passage out of the forest, just where our road crossed theirs. The two first took off their hats, when to the *Qui vive?* we answered, *Vive le Roi*; but at the same time, taking advantage of our confidence, they fired almost close to our breasts. I saw three of the foremost take aim particularly at me. Naturally not one of us ought to have escaped; but doubtless, precipitation, fear, or a bad conscience, caused the hands of these villains to tremble, so that of three shots aimed at me, one only reached me, which entering my lip, came out at the nape of my neck: it appeared to me, that La-Poterie and Tilly received the two others in their cloaths. La-Ruë was the only person who was brought down.

The rest of my troop running up at the noise, surrounded me, crying, *Vive Rosny*. We all together charged our aggressors, who retired, firing, to a village covered with hedges, where we lost them.

They continued only to fire upon us from within the houses, which covered my face with small shot. By this circumstance I concluded, that our adversaries were in a country that they knew, and that all this village was full of soldiers, who only fought, perhaps, to draw us nearer. After several times calling to those traitors, to turn and accept a defiance, seeing them averse, I thought it was the wisest way to leave them, and take some care of my wounds; especially that in my neck, which was the most considerable, and by which I lost a good deal of blood. I got to Touvery, where, in the house of M. d'Auteuil *, I put the first dressing upon them, and from thence retired to Mante, where I was six whole weeks under the surgeons hands. During this space, the King's army not only seized Chartres, but Corbie likewise. Parabere conducted this siege, in the absence of the King,

* It is to this year, and while Henry IV. staid at St Quentin, that we must bring back this prince's letter to M. de Rosny, which is without date, and may be seen amongst the MSS of the King's library, the contents of which perfectly agree with the text of our Memoirs, and is as follows. "All the news I have from Mante are, "that you have been fatigued, and are much emaciated: if you have "any desire to refresh yourself and grow fat, it is my opinion, that "you ought to come hither. Mean time your brother will send us "news from thence of our siege at Chartres," &c.

From several places in these Memoirs, where the share Henry IV. gave to M. de Rosny in all his resolutions is mentioned, particularly that relating to his conversion, which we shall come to presently, we may infer, that this prince had always an entire confidence in him. I have transcribed the foregoing letter, to shew, by another testimony, that this opinion is not ill founded, and that the Duke of Sully has not, through vanity, imposed upon his readers. The historians have not begun to mention this minister till he began himself to appear in a public character. It is more than probable, that, a long time before that, he had been the soul of all the actions and councils of Henry the Great. It is easy to trace this time back to his most early youth; though indeed all the actions of the Duke of Sully compose a life, wherein one sees no youth. This advantage must be allowed to minds born grave and serious, over those more lively and full of fire.

who

who was kept at St Quentin, by his new passion for Mademoiselle d'Estrées*.

The siege of Noyon followed that of Corbie. There is none which I could have more wished to have given a circumstantial detail of than this, if I had been a witness of it. A thousand fine actions were performed by the besieged. The Duke of Maïenne, who saw that this place was of great importance to the league, gave orders to the Duke d'Aumale, lieutenant-general, who was then at Ham with some of the forces of the party, to spare nothing to support this place, till he approached himself. The Duke d'Aumale endeavoured twice to throw succours into it; but La Chantellerie and Tremblecourt, who conducted them, were cut in pieces one after the other. The Viscount de Tavannes, major-general, thinking he might be more successful, presented himself with 400 arquebussiers: they met with a party of fifty or sixty horse, belonging to us: who, after the *Qui vive?* charged them boldly, and put them to flight: the principal officers, who would have resisted, were all wounded, and taken prisoners with Tavannes their chief: D'Aumale flattered himself, that he should, in his turn, beat two quarters of light horse, which he had ordered Bellanglise to reconnoitre; but he found them mounted, and going to meet the King; and having attacked them, these light horse, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, defended themselves so long, and so well, that the Baron de Biron, Mess. de la Largerie and de la Boissiere, had time to come to their assistance: after which, these two troops joining, they defeated d'Aumale's whole

* She is often mentioned in the course of this work. Her name was *Gabrielle*: she was daughter of John Antony d'Estrées, and Frances Babou de la Bourdailliere. She bore successively the names of the fair *Gabrielle*, *Madame de Liancourt*, the *Marchioness of Monceaux*, and *Duchess of Beaufort*.

detachment, which consisted of 500 horse, and as many arquebusiers on horseback. Very few reached Ham without wounds, and a great number of prisoners were taken.

The Duke of Maïenne arriving at Ham at the very moment that these shattered remains retreated thither, was a witness of his loss, and protested publicly, that he would wipe off this shame, either by raising the siege of Noyon, or by a battle. He drew together all his forces, ordered the Baron de Rosne to bring him the Spanish troops, under the command of the Prince of Ascoli in Champagne; and finding himself at the head of 900 foot and 200 horse, he advanced towards Noyon. He forgot his oath, when he saw that he had to do with men who seemed not to have even perceived his arrival. The commander of Noyon had represented to him, by a gentleman whom the King permitted to pass through his army, that he had engaged to surrender the place in six days, if no succours were sent him. The Duke of Maïenne, the Prince of Ascoli, and the Duke of Aumale, suffered Noyon to be taken before their eyes. This commander certainly deserved to have been better seconded. His name was *Rieux*; and, from a private foldier, he had become governor of Pierrefond, by his bravery and his genius. Upon the report of Noyon's being attacked, he had found means to throw himself into it, with fifty horse, and as many arquebusiers, to reassure this city, where all was in consternation and dismay, and to hold it out till the last extremity.

The Duke of Maïenne seeing that his army was useless, sent it into quarters, and marched slowly towards Paris. He had long carried on a correspondence in Mante, and he now thought it time to proceed to execution. He secretly drew out the garrisons of Paris, Dreux, and Pontoise, and suddenly presented himself within musket-shot of this city

city, before day. My brother was governor, and I was then there myself; my wound not permitting me to keep the field. I was advertised of the enemy's arrival, and ran upon the ramparts, with my head bound up, time enough to make some discharges upon the assailants, which hindered them from continuing their design.

The Duke of Maienne succeeded no better before Houdan, which he alarmed as he passed. My other brother, who was there with his regiment, and some companies, gave him such a reception, that he retreated with shame.

What had happened at Mante, joined to the information my brother had received, left us no room to doubt but that the enemy had some correspondence in the city. After consulting together upon what was necessary to be done upon this occasion, I fixed upon the following expedient. I had still in my pay six of those brave soldiers who served as a forlorn hope in the battle of Ivry, and to whom, besides their pay, I gave eight livres a-month. They were then in my brother's garrison, to whom I could not refuse them; and their fidelity I was absolutely assured of. In concert with us two, they feigned to be discontented with the governor of Mante; and presenting themselves to the garrison of Pontoise, were received with open arms. They were no sooner there, than they proposed to d'A-lincourt to make him master of Mante, by the connection which they said they still preserved in that place. To convince the governor of this, they demanded four soldiers, whom, by my connivance, they conveyed into Mante, and directed them to get acquainted with some citizens, who were well disposed to engage in all sorts of factions. In a little time every thing was agreed upon, and the day fixed for delivering up Mante to the league. These four soldiers found every where a facility in

the prosecution of their design, which made him believe the success of it infallible, and he would have all the honour of it to himself. My soldiers informed me exactly of all that was contriving in Pontoise, and of the joy which so well concerted an enterprise occasioned there. The general council of the league, headed by the Cardinal of Bourbon*, resided in that city.

Meantime I took my measures very deep, that no affectation might appear in my conduct. I caused trains of gunpowder to be laid upon the ramparts which they intended to scale, without any one's perceiving it; and shut up all the houses that stood near that side; after which I introduced into the place, by small divisions, at different times, the best soldiers in the garrisons of Nogent, Vernon, and Meulan. This done, I thought myself obliged to send and inform the King, who was at Compiègne, of all that passed; and it was this that ruined our project. This prince could not resist the desire he had to receive the Duke of Maienne himself in Mante, and imagined he had taken sufficient precaution not to hurt our scheme, by not entering Mante till the night that it was to be executed, and by carrying in with him only fifty horse, and the same number of valets. As for me, when I saw him arrive, I was so well persuaded that all

* This is not the old Cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, son of Charles of Bourbon, Duke of Vendome, and brother to Antony King of Navarre, whom the league had proclaimed King. He died of the stone the year before at Fontenai, in Poitou, whether Henry IV. had caused him to be removed from Chinon, aged 67 years, a prince, who had reason to complain, that they obliged him to ascend a throne which had no allurements for him. He could not conceal his joy for the victory that Henry IV. gained at Coutras; and only accepted the crown, says Cayet, to preserve it for that prince whom he loved. *Chron. Noven. vol. 1. book 2. p. 357.* It is the Cardinal his nephew. He was son of Lewis I. Prince of Condé, who was slain at Jarnac, and brother to the Prince of Condé, who died at St John d'Angely, to the Prince of Conti, and the Count of Soissons.

our measures were broke, that I could not help reproaching him with some warmth, for coming thus to destroy our work, and exposing, perhaps, the lives of the four soldiers who conducted it, by means of the evidences that might be brought against them. The King assured me, that nothing of what I feared would happen, and went to sup at the governor's; and there, being fatigued with his long journey, threw himself upon a bed in his cloaths and jack-boats.

The night passed, and the day came, without any appearance of the enemy. I watched for them all night upon the ramparts, with one of my brothers; the other staid with the King. Just as I had gone to repose, Bellengreville, whom I had ordered to observe the enemy's motion without, came to me, and informed me, that the Duke of Maienne having received advice that some troops, led by the King in person, had entered Mante in the night, supposed his design was discovered, and had retreated, after having advanced as far as Bourgenville. I carried him to the King, to whom he made the same report; and, as a proof of the truth of what he said, produced two carts, loaded with rope-ladders, and such other instruments, which the leaguers, imagining they already saw the King at their heels, had left in the field, to retreat more expeditiously. The thing became public and irretrievable; for the soldiers who escaped on both sides could not be silent.

The King succeeded better with regard to Louviers. This city kept a priest in its pay, who, from the top of the highest belfrey, which he never left, played the part of a spy with a good deal of exactness. As soon as he saw any one appear in the field, though it were only a single person, he rung a certain bell, and at the same side hung out a great flag. We did not despair of shaking his fidelity;
and

and 200 crowns of the sun, with a promise of a benefice of 3000 livres of revenue, corrupted him. It remained only to gain some of the garrison; the *Sieur Du-Rollet* took this upon himself, and succeeded equally well. He addressed himself to a corporal and two soldiers, who easily accustomed the rest of the garrison to trust the guard of one of the gates to them alone. Every thing being thus concluded, the King presented himself before *Louviers*, at eleven o'clock in the night*. No one rung the bell, nor was there the least motion in the garrison. *Du-Rollet* entered, and made the gate be opened, through which the King passed, without the smallest resistance, into the centre of the city. *Fontaine-Martel* made some ineffectual efforts to draw the garrison together; as for the citizens, they were wholly occupied in concealing their wives and their daughters. The city, whose principal riches consisted in its magazines of linen and leather, was entirely pillaged. I had a gentleman with me, called *Beaugrard*, a native of *Louviers*, who was of great use to us in discovering where these kinds of merchandise were concealed, and a prodigious quantity of them was amassed together. The produce of my share amounted to 3000 livres. The care of *Louviers* was by the King consigned to *Du-Rollet*.

The same good fortune attended the Duke of *Montpensier* in all his enterprises in Normandy†.

This

* June 5.

† In the Lower Normandy, *Falaize*, *Baieux*, *Argentan*, *Lizieux*, &c. were in the interest of the league; *Caën*, *Alençon*, *Sécz*, *Ecouché*, &c. in the King's. The most considerable action happened in April 1589, in the field of *Argentan*, near *Pierrefitte*, *Villars*, and *Commeaux*, where the Duke of *Montpensier* cut off the leaguers of those cantons, whom they called *Gautiers*, to the number 5 or 6000. Three thousand were left dead upon the spot, and a thousand taken prisoners; the rest escaped to *Argentan*. *Commeaux*, which is at present scarce a village, was taken with great difficulty. At length the Duke of *Montpensier* extirpated this whole party, and reduced

This success was no more than necessary to console the King for the news he received, that the Duke of Guise *, whom he considered as his principal enemy, had escaped from the castle of Tours, where he had been kept prisoner ever since the assassination at Blois. The King now resumed his former design of attempting every thing, to become master of Rouen. Assured of the assistance and affection of almost all the cities of Normandy, he quitted Mante, where for some time past he had fixed his abode, and made it a little capital for the residence of his court and his council; and caused his troops to file off towards this city. While preparations were making for this important siege, Henry made a secret journey to Compiègne, of which love was the true motive, though he gave out that it was to send to Germany for a levy of cavalry. The Viscount Turenne undertook this affair, from gratitude for the King's having effected, and honoured with his presence, his marriage with Mademoiselle de Sedan †, daughter and only heiress

reduced several of the rebellious cities. He was assisted by the Count of Torgny, Mess. d'Emery, de Loncaunai, de Beuvron, de Viques, de Bacqueville, l'Archant, and others. See these expeditions in the 3d volume of the Memoirs of the league.

* Charles of Lorraine, son of Henry Duke of Guise, who was slain at Blois, and of Catherine of Cleves. He was born in 1571. "The flight of the Duke of Guise will ruin the league," said Henry IV. as it is related by Le Grain. The Duke's valet de chambre having found means to amuse Rouvrai and his guards, either by play, or drinking, let him down from the highest window in the castle, in the midst of the day, with a rope, which he afterwards made use of to descend himself. The Duke got into a small boat, which carried him to the other side of the river, where two horses waited for him, &c. Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 81. Cayet, vol. 2. book 3. p. 465. &c.

† Charlotte de la Mark, daughter of Robert de la Mark, sovereign prince of Sedan, and of Frances of Bourbon Montpensier, by the death of her brother, William Robert de la Mark, Duke of Bouillon, which happened at Geneva, in the year 1588, she became heiress of this

heirefs of the deceased Duke of Bouillon, which was concluded this year. I was not sorry for my part, that this retreat gave me an opportunity of enjoying, some time longer, at Mante, the company of Madam Chateaupers, with whom chance had lately brought me acquainted, and to whom I felt myself attached more and more, by an inclination so strong, that it made me think of a second marriage.

The King had expressly forbidden all commerce, and transportation of merchandises, and of every kind of provision, into Paris and Rouen, as being cities in open rebellion: but in this, as in every thing else, he was very ill obeyed. The governors of passes, especially along the Seine, gained by the immense sums, which their facility produced, almost publicly granted the necessary passports for merchants, and masters of boats. De-Fourges, whom I have formerly had occasion to mention, came one day to inform me, that a large boat, whose lading was reputed worth 50,000 crowns, had gone up the river towards Paris, where, after a few days stay, a less one would bring back the value in silver to Rouen: which he was well assured of, because his own father was to conduct the boat. I caused it to be so well watched, that in its return it fell into my hands, and I saw with astonishment the passport signed by Berengueville, and my brother, the one governor of Meulan, and the o-

this principality. The Duke, in his last will, forbade his sister to marry a Roman Catholic. This was the disposition, but the King's friendship for the Viscount Turenne, his desire of taking the lady from the Dukes of Lorraine, Montpensier, and Nevers each of whom demanded her for his son; policy, which advised him to give an ambitious neighbour to the Duke of Lorraine; and perhaps the belief that this marriage would induce the Viscount to lay aside his design of making himself head of the Calvinists in France; were the motives which determined Henry IV. to marry the heirefs of Sedan to the Viscount Turenne.

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ther of Mante ; but they did not care to mention this to me, nor did I take any notice of it to them, but caused the boat and its conductor to be brought to Mante. I opened two large packets, where I expected to find the 50,000 crowns in specie. But seeing only some pieces of gold and silver thread, and Spanish silk, I threatened to put the master of the boat into a dungeon. The elder Fourges, alarmed at this threat, presented me with letters of exchange for 36,000 crowns, which he would have persuaded me was the whole produce of the sale. As he defended himself with a good deal of action, the weight of the gold he had about him broke his pockets, and so great a quantity fell from them, that the floor was in an instant covered with crowns of the sun*. He probably intended to apply this sum to his own use, or thought it could be in no place so secure as about himself. One may imagine what was his confusion. After diverting myself some time in obliging him to take several turns about the room, I ordered him to strip, and found 7000 crowns in gold sewed up in his cloaths. I was then in very great need, waiting the sale of my corn, wood, and hay, at Rosny: the King made me a present of this sum, and was singularly pleased with the recital of poor Fourges's adventure. It was not so with Berengueville, and my brother, they were extremely angry with me. I come to the siege of Rouen.

The King had not seen himself at the head of forces so considerable. Four thousand English arrived to him, conducted by Roger Williams ; and, moreover, he expected soon a second reinforce-

* A gold coin current in those times. It was first struck in the reign of Lewis XI. and so called, because there was the figure of a sun above the crown. The value of these crowns at this time is 64 sols. *Le Blanc, traité hist. des monnoies de France, p. 9. de l'introduction, et p. 372.*

ment from this country, which disembarked during the siege, under the command of the Earl of Essex *, the minister and favourite of Queen Elisabeth. The United Provinces, besides the two regiments in the service of this prince, sent a fleet of fifty sail well equipped to the coast of Normandy, having on board 2500 soldiers, commanded by Count Philip of Nassau. The Duke of Bouillon (for so the Viscount of Turenne called himself since his marriage) succeeded so well in his negotiation in Germany, that he brought back 5 or 6000 horse, besides some companies of foot, with the Prince of Anhalt at their head. These foreign auxiliaries, joined to 6000 Swiss, which the King had in his pay, to different reinforcements that came from several places, particularly Normandy; and to those troops, either Protestants or Catholics, that were at his own disposal, composed an army of 40,000 men. Caën, and the other chief towns of the province, engaged to furnish provisions, and every thing necessary for a siege, which could not fail of being long, both because of the goodness of the place, and because of the strength of the garrison. The Marquis of Villars, known for his bravery and capacity, shut himself up there with the son of the Duke of Maienne, resolved to bury themselves under its ruins. In effect, from the day that we sat down before this city, till the Prince of Parma's arrival, which obliged us to raise the siege, there passed almost six months; and what is worse, six winter-months: for it was invested in the beginning of October, and abandoned the 20th of March following, after efforts on the part of the besiegers, and a resistance on that of the

* Robert D'Evreux, Earl of Essex, favourite to Q. Elisabeth. See the letter of thanks which Henry IV. wrote to Elisabeth, in Villeroy's Memoirs, vol. 4. p. 242.

besieged,

besieged, some circumstances of which I shall relate.

The troops of the besiegers were placed in different quarters; the King's were at Darnetal, and that of my company at Fresne l'Esplen, whither I rarely went, the King having honoured me with a lodging in his. Here I disposed myself for a long stay, and hardly ever quitted him or the Marechal de Biron. At first there appeared such an emulation amongst the officers to be employed, that, to avoid all discussions, the King regulated the time and duration of each of their services; and declared that one day of four he would himself work at the trenches, with the gentlemen that were about his person, who were to the number of two or three hundred.

I had solicited beforehand for a post in the artillery, for which my inclination was so strong, that I submitted to serve not only under the Marechal de Biron, but Mess. de la Guiche, de Born, and de Fayolles also. But Biron, who had no affection for me, gained over these general officers, and prevailed upon them to exclude me, with which I had afterwards reason to be well contented; for those pieces of ordnance of which I was to have the charge, happened to fall into the power of the enemy.

The motive of this Marechal's hatred towards me was, that in the council, where it was debated on what side the place should be attacked, Biron being of opinion, that we should attack the castle; I was not afraid to maintain, that we ought first to apply to the city, which would bring along with it the reduction of Fort St Catherine. This question was a long time the subject of all conversations, as well at the table, as at the council; and Biron never forgot the expression I generally used, *The city taken, the castle must surrender.*

I cannot indeed comprehend, how a man so experienced as the Marechal was, could determine for attacking the castle, which, not to mention the commander, or the garrison, (and neither the man nor the garrison were ordinary) nor its excellent fortifications, had this in particular from the nature of the place, that in attacking it without, not half the number of soldiers could be brought against it which the besieged could oppose to defend it; which is quite contrary in cities of war.

However, the opinion of the Marechal de Biron carried it; for his authority, and the dependence to which he had accustomed the other general officers, captivated all the votes. Without doubt, this Marechal, flattering himself that nothing could be able to resist so strong an army, embraced the part which he thought the most glorious, and the likeliest to bring the siege soon to an end; and the King, who was resolved not to spare himself*, by following this advice, seemed to be of the same opinion. For I look upon as a pure calumny, disseminated by the Marechal's enemies, that report which was whispered in the army, that he had asked the King for the government of Rouen, which this prince had refused him, because he had before promised it to Du Hallot, upon the recommendation of M. de Montpensier; and that he endeavoured underhand to frustrate this enterprize, and,

* Perhaps also they depended upon blowing up the fort of St Catherine with the mine; but the design was discovered by the besieged. *Memoirs of the league*, vol. 5. Those writers that have defended the Marechal Biron's advice against that given by the Duke of Sully, with regard to the place at which they should begin the attack, say, that it was very difficult, and, at the same time, very dangerous, for the army of Henry IV. to leave behind them the fort of St Catherine, the hill especially being so near the city. See, upon the operations of this siege, Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 96. *et seq.*; Cayet, Chron. Noven. vol. 2. book 4. (who is for the Duke of Sully's opinion against the Marechal Biron); and other historians.

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through envy, gave a counsel which he knew would render all our efforts upon this place ineffectual. It is more certain, that these eternal contestations with the Duke of Bouillon had more than once been like to ruin all; for this nobleman, to be revenged on the King, raised a mutiny amongst the horse, and other German forces which he had brought.

The batteries were accordingly raised opposite to the fort, and we contented ourselves, for guarding the lower part of the river, to place there some companies of German foot, which having been worsted in some sallies that were made on that side, yielded the post to the Hollanders, who understood sieges better than they. In effect, these last maintained themselves there, and prevented sallies by that place. It was not long before the King perceived that he had engaged in a work of extreme difficulty; but nothing, he imagined, was impossible to obstinate labour. Villars was not contented with defending himself within; he came out of the castle, and caused a deep trench to be cut upon the declivity of the hill, over-against the fort, with which the end of it communicated, and placed there in the night a guard of 6 or 700 men.

As this new work was extended far into the country, and as it not only incommoded the besiegers in their attacks upon the castle, but also exposed them to be fallen upon in the rear, while at the same time they had the garrison from within in front, the King resolved to seize it, and to render it useless. He made choice of the same night when it was his turn to watch the trench with his 300 gentlemen, whom he commanded to be completely armed, and to have, besides their usual arms, halberds in their hands, and pistols at their girdles, and to his troop added 400 musketeers or pikemen. It was at midnight, and amidst the extreme

cold of December, that we attacked this trench in different places. The action, which was very obstinate, continued half an hour with equal animosity on the one part and the other. We made considerable efforts to gain the brink, and the besieged repulsed us several times. I was twice thrown to the ground, my halbert broke, and my arms loosened or broke in pieces. Maignan, whom I had obtained permission to bring with me, raised me, put my arms again in order, and gave me his halbert. The trench was at last carried by main force, and we cleared it of more than fifty dead or dying enemies, whom we threw from the precipice of the hill. This trench was open to the cannon of the fort; but the King had the precaution to order some gabions, hogsheds, and pieces of wood to be brought there, which covered the English, to whom he committed the guard of it.

Villars had not expected to see his outworks carried in so short a time. When he was told it, and that it was the King in person who had conducted the enterprize, "By heavens," said he, "this prince deserves a thousand crowns for his valor. I am sorry that, by a better belief, he does not inspire us with as strong an inclination to acquire him new ones, as, by his present creed, he gives us subject to dispute with him his own: but it shall never be said, that I have failed to attempt in my person what a great king has executed in his." In effect, he put himself at the head of 400 men, armed as he had been told the King's were, and taking also 800 pikemen selected out of his whole number, he attacked the English, and dislodged them from the trench. The King felt himself piqued at the vanity of Villars, and resolving not to let go his hold, prepared for a second attempt. The English, apprehending reproaches, which they certainly had not merited, intreated

intreated the King to put 100 English gentlemen in his troop, and to suffer all the foot, who were to attend him on this occasion, to be English likewise. They also demanded leave to sustain the first effort of the enemy, and behaved in such a manner, that in spite of the resistance of the besieged, who had doubled their number, the trench was a second time regained: they afterwards maintained themselves in it, and took away from the besieged all inclination to approach it for the future. By what happened for a simple ditch, it is easy to judge of the event of a siege, of which this attack was but the beginning. The King was sensible, that notwithstanding all his care, and the infinite pains that he gave himself, he would find great difficulty in succeeding. The destiny of France alone preserved this prince on occasions, when he hazarded his person in such a manner, as made us sometimes despair of his life. And it was upon this account, that, the next day after the trench was taken, I found occasion to express our common fears, when he drew me aside, in the presence of the Catholics, and all the courtiers, to converse with me upon the present situation of his affairs. "I cannot do otherwise, my friend," replied this prince, as soon as I began to make my representations; "and since it is for my glory and crown that I fight, my life and every thing else ought to be of no consideration with me."

It is certain, that in the King's situation he could not do less than he did, to persuade the world, that if this siege failed, it was not through his fault; and all these instances of eminent valour were no more than necessary to evite the shame of being foiled in an attempt which one half of his army feared he should succeed in, almost as much as the enemy themselves. These were the very same Catholics whom I have formerly mentioned, who,

not contented with having obliged him to begin the siege at a place which rendered the taking of the city impossible, suffered him to sustain all the trouble, obeyed him but by halves and with regret, created obstacles upon obstacles, and publicly declared, that nothing was to be expected from them, while he was of a religion different from their own.

It was to open his heart upon so many subjects of disquietude and chagrin, that he was desirous of discoursing with me, and I then said nothing to him which he did not know as well as myself; at so little trouble were his domestic enemies to conceal their sentiments. He told me, he had perceived for some time, that he was threatened with a mischief still greater, which was the desertion of all the Catholics in his army; "which will bring along with it" (these are the very words of this prince) "the ruin of the state, and that of the house of Bourbon; for if they once break with me, they will never after chuse for a king a prince of that family." He added, that this disobedience was an incurable evil, which he was obliged to dissemble. He made me observe, that, at the very time he spoke to me, Mess. de Nevers, de Longueville, de la Guiche, d'O, and de Châteauneuf, jealous of so familiar a conversation with an Huguenot, observed us malignantly from a corner of the hall, and whispered continually together. For this reason, he said, it would be necessary to separate, and that he must be obliged to tell them that our discourse turned solely upon a negotiation with the Marquis of Villars, which, in reality, the King had hinted to me in this conversation.

Nothing could have happened more advantageous for the King, than to have put an end to the siege of Rouen by a treaty with Villars, which, in reality, would have disengaged him from the league,
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and brought him into his own party. It was what this prince ardently wished for, but still less for the honour of his enterprize, than for the advantage of gaining over such a man as this governor. He imagined it might be brought about by means of La-Font, for whom Villars had great consideration, though he was only his steward. The King was not ignorant that Villars had received this domestic into his service, after he had left mine; and that La-Font owed his favour with his new master to those testimonies I had given of his probity. This thought had struck me before it was mentioned by the King, and I had even found means to get La-Font sounded upon the subject. His answer, which I related to the King, was, that at present he saw no appearance of what I proposed, that he even thought himself obliged to prevent his master's entertaining any suspicion of his fidelity, to have no commerce with me, much less to see me, as I proposed: that all he could do, was to observe if M. de Villars changed his sentiments with regard to the King, and in that case to confirm him as much as possible in them, and to inform me of it.

Henry thought no more of it; but before we separated, he asked me what he ought to do with regard to the siege, and the Prince of Parma, who, he had just learned, had passed the Somme, to join his troops with those of the Duke of Maienne. The King doubted not but that his intention in this was to proceed directly to Rouen, and still less but that Villars would easily hold out till his arrival. I told the King, that I saw but two things for him to do, and that it was his part to determine upon one of them. The first was, to change totally the order, and place of attack, and to carry it to the side of the city, and there use his utmost endeavours to make himself master of it before the enemy should appear. The second was, that without loss
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of time he should go and attack the Prince of Parma, and oblige him to repass the Somme, and continue afterwards the siege without fear.

The King resolved upon this last advice: but as by following it he had no design to raise the siege, lest the Prince of Parma, who perhaps had that only in view, should afterwards avoid the battle, he told me, that he would go and meet him with 7 or 8000 horse, who were of no use at the siege; and that he would attack him with this cavalry, or, if he had not passed the Somme, dispute his passage. He quitted me, ordering me to prepare myself to go along with him with fifteen or twenty troopers only, chosen from the rest of my company.

I returned at the end of two days from Fresne l'Esplen, and, on my arrival at Darnetal, I learned that Villars had made a sally at the head of 100 horse, with whom he had overpowered the guard; and would have been the cause of much greater disorder, if the King, armed only with a cuirass, had not run thither, followed by the Baron de Biron, an English officer whose name has escaped me, Grillon, and some others who were about him: these three gentlemen especially had covered themselves with glory. Grillon had his arm broke by a shot from an arquebuse. As for the King, having precipitated himself into a danger, somewhat like that which is related of Alexander the Great in the city of the Oxydracæ, he extricated himself out of it with the same presence of mind, and the same intrepidity. If this, which is only an example, has all the appearance of a fable, Henry's action had two whole armies for witnesses.

The Prince of Parma, with his whole army, possessed the border of the Somme, and, satisfied with recovering this river, made scarce any motion; for besides that the governor of Rouen had sent to inform him, that, as he intended to strike
some

some important blow, he might let it be a good while before he came to his assistance; he waited for the arrival of Sfondrate, who was to bring him the troops of his uncle Pope Gregory XIV. *, and those of the Duke of Maienne, who however came not so soon. He had been obliged to go with his best troops to Paris, to punish the insolence of the Sixteen, who, abusing the power he had suffered them to assume, had dared to hang the President Brisson †, and some other counsellors, as respectable for their virtue as for their age; and had doubtless gone farther, if the Duke, fearing perhaps some sudden caprice of those seditious counsellors ‡ against himself, had not doomed them to the like punishment: but as, in executing this act of justice, he had certain measures to keep, he did not join the Prince of Parma as soon as had been expected.

The King, when he was informed of this disposition, thought it necessary to hasten his march. He left to the Marechal Biron the care of carrying on

* Sixtus V. died in August 1590. Henry IV. when he was informed of his death, said, "Here is a trick of Spanish policy: I have lost a pope who was my all."

† "A catastrophe very unworthy of so learned and excellent a man," says Mezeray, speaking of the President Brisson, "but usual to those who think to keep well with two parties." For the parliament being transferred by the King to Tours, Brisson was the only one of the six presidents who remained at Paris. The league obliged him to perform the duties of First President, and it was he that helped to degrade K. Henry III. According to the Duke of Nevers's observation, his death was looked upon to be a just punishment of his ingratitude. Henry III. had freely bestowed upon him the post of President. However, he was one of the greatest men of the robe. The Duke of Maienne revenged his death, by causing Louchard, Ameline, Aimonet, and Anroux, four of the sixteen, to be hanged in a parlour of the Louvre.

‡ One of the sixteen, named *Normand*, said one day, in the Duke of Maienne's chamber, "Those who made him have a right to unmake him." Hamilton, the curate of St Côme, a furious leaguer, came himself, attended by priests instead of soldiers, to seize the Counsellor Tardif in his house.

the

the siege, whose forces he weakened but by 7 or 8000 horse; consisting from 3 to 4000 French troopers, as many German horse, and 1000 horse-arquebusiers; at the head of which he departed from Darnetal, and took the road to the Somme. He passed the first day by Boissiere and Neuf Châtel; the second by Blangy, Londiniere, Longueville, Senerpont, and Gamache; and the third advanced to Folleville, with a simple detachment, leaving the body of his cavalry behind him, to be conducted by the Duke of Nevers.

We met a considerable party, led by Mess. de Rosne, de Balagny, de Vitry, the Baron de la Châtre, St Pol, La Mothe*, and others, who had doubtless advanced with the same design as we, to reconnoitre the situation and forces of the enemy. The King commanded the Baron de Biron, Mess. de Lavardin, de Givry, de St Ceran, de Marivaut, de Chanlivant, La-Curée†, d'Atambure, and some others, to go and attack them; who were repulsed and handled very roughly; and part fell, among which was Lavardin. Henry ran with 300 horse to disengage them; and, believing this encounter might be followed by an action more serious, at least between the cavalry of the two armies, which was what he greatly wished for, sent orders to Nevers to quicken his pace. But the Prince of Parma,

* La Mothe, governor of Valenciennes, was a Frenchman, of the country of Beauvaisis; but he had all his life served in the Spanish army, and was slain in 1595, at the siege of Dourlans, at the head of the Spanish artillery, very much regretted by the Spaniards. The King of Spain had just created him Count of Ekelbeke. See his death and panegyric in De Thou, book 112.

† La-Curée was one of those persons in whom the King confided, and was called by him nothing but *Curée*. He performed wonders at the battle of Ivry, and on many other occasions. The volume of MSS. in the royal library marked 8929. is filled with relations of his intrepidity. He was killed in an encounter at the siege of Montauban.

who had a quite contrary design, restrained his squadrons, who had retreated of themselves when they perceived ours advance; and the King, seeing no appearance of affecting any thing in the midst of so many battalions, and the night already approaching, contented himself with observing this army closely, and checking its motions, as he went to his quarters at Breteuil; where his cavalry, for fear of a surprise, were obliged to keep themselves extremely close, and part of them even lay without all night, though the ground was covered with snow.

The ardour with which the King went to meet an enemy greatly superior, awakened our fears for the dangers to which he exposed his person, and obliged us strongly to represent to him the consequences. But this prince, who had no conception of that management we proposed to him, when glory was in question, changed not his conduct. He contented himself with naming thirty of us to continue near his person, and not to leave him upon any occasion whatever. An employment very honourable in truth; but the danger of it somewhat abated the passion for it. With this precaution, which was no more than sufficient, he only exposed himself still more.

Being informed that the Duke of Guise, who commanded the Prince of Parma's vanguard, had put himself at the head of his squadron, to facilitate the lodgment of this infantry in a large town called *Bures*, he resolved to cut off this squadron; which he executed with the utmost vigour, at the head of 1200 horse and 1000 horse arquebusiers. A great number of the enemy were left dead upon the place, and the rest betook themselves to flight. The Duke of Guise's green standard was taken, and all the baggage plundered. Henry, who was not willing that any of these cavaliers should escape him, especially their Colonel, sent immediate orders to the
Duke

Duke of Nevers to advance with all speed to Bully, that he might possess himself of the road through which he conjectured the Duke of Guise and the fugitives would retreat to the rest of the army, and take them prisoners. I had orders to sustain the Duke of Nevers with sixty horse; which I obeyed with reluctance, not doubting, but in such hands the affair would have an issue little worthy of its beginning.

The Duke of Nevers, the slowest of all men, began by sending to make choice of the most favourable roads, and marched with a slow pace towards Bully, with his hands and his nose in his muff, and his whole person well packed up in his coach. This once he had no occasion to boast of his extreme caution. It was so long before he arrived, that he gave time to the Prince of Parma, who was greatly more alert than he, to throw a regiment of 15 or 1600 men into Bully, who made such haste, that they reached the town in the beginning of the night. As for the Duke of Nevers, the sun rising the next day found him at last upon the height of the mountain at the foot of which Bully is situated, preceded by his couriers, whom he had that day doubled, through an excess of precaution against a flying enemy: the first, to the number of fifty, marched two or three miles before him; and the second, which amounted to 100, went some few paces before his coach. But unfortunately, with all his foresight, he had forgot to make sure of this passage, and had not sent a single soldier to keep guard there. He began to descend the mountain with great tranquillity, and doubtless with more tranquillity than if he had known whom he was to find in Bully. His first couriers, entering the city, were sufficiently surpris'd at the sight of so much good company; but as the cold had oblig'd these soldiers to disarm, and to lay down their pikes, to range themselves
round

round a large fire which they had kindled, these fifty couriers had time to save themselves by flight. This they did not indeed upon that side where their master was, but by passing quite through the city, and getting out at the opposite end as fast as their legs could carry them, without troubling themselves about what might become of the Duke of Nevers; who, with his coach, was just then sticking in the deepest part of a descent, equally steep, rugged, and winding. It was in this place that the Duke of Nevers, hearing the noise of some fusileers who were firing after his first couriers, and the second having come to make their report, full of consternation, was frozen with fright; and resolving now at last to lose no time, he threw away his muff and his furs, not without often exclaiming, "The devil," nor without quarrelling his valets for not coming readily enough to help him out. All their endeavours could not disengage the coach, which was forced to be dragged back to the top of the mountain; where the Duke again made use of it, to return a little more hastily to the place where he had lain the preceding night. It was thus that we seconded the King upon this occasion: A truly ridiculous exploit, where the danger did not equal the fear by a great deal, since not a single man was lost.

The Prince of Parma, by this important blow, knowing what sort of an enemy he had to deal with, durst not for the future suffer his vanguard to be separated from the army; and perceiving that the King almost never lost sight of him, redoubled his diffidence; which was, without doubt, the cause that he did not take all the advantage he might have done of the encounter at Aumale: An action singularly hardy on the King's side, and well deserving a particular relation.

Some days after that I have just mentioned, the

King following the Prince of Parma at a great distance, had advanced, with 6000 horse towards Aumale. Givry, whom he had sent at the head of some troopers to get intelligence, returned and informed him, that the enemy's army was advancing directly towards him in the plain, in good order, apparently with a design to force him back, and to cut him off in his retreat. The King called a council; and finding, as he said, that he had too many and too few soldiers, he resolved to send all his cavalry back to Ophy, Blangy, and Neuf-Châtel, and to keep with him only 400 troopers, and 500 horse-archeubusiers, and with this body of men to advance into the plain, to discover exactly the condition and the number of the enemy; and hovering about them, to take or cut off some squadrons.

He mounted the hill of Aumale, with his 900 horse, and marched two leagues without perceiving any thing, till the sky, which had been extremely dark, becoming very clear, he a second time saw Givry return, who came to give him full satisfaction in all that he wanted to know about this army. It was so near that they heard distinctly the sound of the trumpets and drums. But Henry would needs see it himself. He made an exact review of it, and found that it consisted of 17 or 18,000 infantry, with 7 or 8000 cavalry, who marched very close; the cavalry, in the midst of the battalions, and the whole flanked with chariots and baggage, that rendered approach impossible. From this situation of the enemy, he found he had still too many men; and retaining only 100 troopers, ordered the 800 others to repass the dyke and town of Aumale, and 300 horse of his squadron to stop upon the declivity of the hill, to be within reach to assist him, if there should be occasion. Five hundred arquebusiers he gave to the conduct of Lavardin, with orders to post them in the ditches and hedges that
were

were at the entrance of the town, from whence they might incommode such of the enemy as approached too near. As for himself, he not only waited for the enemy with his 100 horse, but even marched to meet them.

At this moment we all gazed upon one another, perfectly astonished at the temerity of a design, which seemed to expose the person of the King to inevitable death. No one durst venture to expostulate with him, yet knew not how to be silent. At length I was chosen and deputed by the rest, to represent to the King, in the name of us all, the danger to which he exposed himself, and to intreat him to alter his resolution. This commission I performed in the most cautious terms that I could devise. "'Tis the language of fear," replied the King; "from you, of all others, I would never have expected it." I prayed him not to think so unjustly of any of us; and told him, that the only thing we required was, that he would give us what orders he pleased, provided he would himself retire. This prince confessed to me afterwards, that being sensibly affected with these words, he repented of what he had said to me. He answered, that no expressions of our fidelity could reach the idea he conceived of it. "But," added he, coldly, and with an air that convinced me that it was useless to speak to him more, "be you also assured, that I am not so rash as you imagine; that I am as much afraid of my skin as another; and that I will retreat so seasonably, that no inconvenience shall happen."

The Prince of Parma could not but look upon an attempt so hardy, as a snare that was laid for him, to draw his cavalry into an open field where he should meet with the King's, which he supposed to be concealed, and superior to his. He even suspected a long time, that the King's whole army

could not be far off; and, having no design to engage him, he did not quit his post, which was in the centre of his army, where he was seated in an uncovered chariot, without arms or boots, and employed in giving orders to restrain the ardour of the soldiery, who suffered with impatience 100 men to insult 30,000. However, when he was assured, by the report of his light horse and his carabineers, that at present he had but 100 horse in front, and that if there was any cavalry, it must be on the other side of the valley, he thought he should run no risk by attacking us; which he did with such fury, and at so many places, that we were broke through, and driven back as far as the valley. Here it was that our arquebusiers ought to have posted themselves; and on our arrival, the King cried to them to charge, after having first warned us not to charge, in order that the enemy might suspect an ambuscade in this place, and stop. In effect, they did stop short; but finding that this cry was followed only with fifty or sixty shots which we fired upon them, they came on again with more obstinacy.

Our arquebusiers, seized with fear, or perhaps willing to chuse a more advantageous ground, had retired much lower than the place that had been marked for them, and they were the principal cause of the misfortune that happened. The enemy's squadrons, encouraged by the little resistance they found, pursued their point, and we could not hinder them from mixing amongst us. We saw ourselves reduced to the necessity of fighting with this vast multitude with our pistols and swords, in a danger that may be easily imagined: and, indeed, in my opinion, there could not be a greater; for from a hundred we were already reduced to forty. Henry, seeing that none came to assist him to extricate himself out of this bad step, resolved to make his retreat: which, on this occasion, was almost as perilous

rilous as his defence, because we had a bridge to pass, and that bridge at a great distance. This prince, with a composure truly admirable, placed himself in the rear of his troop, and made it file off towards the bridge of Aumale, which, by the order he caused to be observed, it passed over without confusion. He was the last that passed, and held firm against the enemy till every one of us was on the other side. That moment he was shot in the reins; and it was a signal happiness, that he received no more than this one wound, which did not hinder him from continuing to fight on the other side of the bridge, while he was endeavouring to gain the hill; where the 400 horse he had sent thither made so good an appearance, that the Prince of Parma, more than ever persuaded that he only sought to draw him to a battle, forbid his troops to advance, and made them all return to Aumale.

The King, on his side, reached Neuf-Châtel, where his wound obliged him to go to bed. The surgeons removed our consternation by assuring us, that it was inconsiderable. He obliged us to come near his bed, and conversed with us familiarly upon the dangers of that day: upon which I observed, as something singular, that among us all, who were in the chamber, there were not two persons who could agree in the recital of the most particular circumstances of the action *. In general, it passed as I have related: what appeared doubtful to me, I have suppressed; but as it is here, one may be cer-

* There is scarce any skirmish or battle of which as much may not be said. Although there are a great number of writers, and even contemporaries, who have treated of the military exploits contained in these Memoirs, I cannot meet with two who agree exactly in their descriptions. D'Aubigné, in that of the encounter at Aumale, does not even mention the King's wound, which was the only one he ever received in his life. Matthieu, *ibid.* p. 100. and our best historians, differ but little from our Memoirs.

tain that there are few kings whose lives present as much*.

The Prince of Parma's over-prudence hurt him upon this occasion : it hindered him from cutting off our whole squadron, that is to say, from finishing the war that day, by the death or taking of the King ; for the one or other was inevitable. But he was determined to undertake nothing till he was joined by the Duke of Maienne, not being willing to bear alone all the inconveniencies of a war, of which he was not himself to reap all the fruits.

He was not able to comprehend the cause of this delay in the chief of the league : the suspicions he entertained of it made him suddenly change the march of his army, and take the road back to the Somme. An action excusable in a stranger, who saw himself in the midst of a country, where he was not warring in his own behalf. Henry, who, without considering what was glorious for himself in the last battle, called it only *the error of Aumale* ; and being solicitous to repair this heroic error, could not resolve to suffer the Spanish general quietly to retreat. He put off the cure of his wound to another time, and remounting his horse, continued to gall him, very much troubled that he could not do more. But he had a politic general to deal with, who, notwithstanding all his endeavours, presented him always with an infantry in front, which he could not open ; and conducted himself with so much wisdom, that it was impossible, even at the

* Henry having sent to the Prince of Parma to ask his opinion of this retreat, he replied, that " indeed it was a very fine one ; but " that, for his part, he never engaged in any place from whence he " was obliged to retire " *Peref. ibid. part 2.* It was on this occasion that Du-Plessis-Mornay wrote this pretty letter to the King. " Sire, " In war you have been an Alexander : it is time you should now " be Augustus : it is our glory and duty to die for you ; and yours, " I dare tell you, Sire, to live for France," &c. *Notes upon the Henriade.*

passage of the river, to have an encounter with him. The King at length, quitting him at Pont-dormy, returned to Neuf-Châtel, to have his wound cured, at the house of M. de Claire; where I was received as a friend and relation. I kept only a valet de chambre, a page, and a footman with me, and sent all the rest of my equipage to my quarters before Rouen.

The success of the siege became more doubtful every day: at last the King was informed, by a courier, that Villars, at the head of 200 musketeers, and 3 or 400 soldiers, had in the night made a furious sally on the side of Darnetal; that he had penetrated even into the King's quarters, where he had cut all the German foot to pieces, and carried off six pieces of cannon, and all the powder; that afterwards, pursuing his point, he had fallen upon the trench, which he attacked behind; had killed there 3 or 400 men, and put the rest to flight: in a word, that he did not retire till he had cleared and demolished almost all the works of the besiegers.

This melancholy news recalled the King immediately to Rouen: he was there convinced, that this misfortune was wholly occasioned by the Marechal de Biron's fault; but although he looked upon it as irreparable, and hated this commander*, he was much upon his guard, not to let any thing appear. The natural hatred of the Catholics of his

* There cannot be a stronger proof of the respect and deference which Henry IV. thought himself obliged to shew the Marechal Biron, than what this prince said one day to young Châtillon, on a certain occasion, when he offered some very reasonable advice, but contrary to the mind of the Marechal: "The goslings," said he, "would lead the geese to the pasture. When your beard is white, perhaps you may have acquired some knowledge. I do not approve of your speaking so freely: that belongs only to my father there," pointing to Biron, who had threatened to retire. "We must," pursued he, embracing him, "go all to his school." *Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 16.*

party against the Protestants, took this occasion to insult the Marechal de Biron, who, next to the King, was looked upon as the principal support of the Huguenots. The Catholics said openly, that Heaven would never favour Henry's party, while he continued a heretic, (a speech very sensible after all the successes he had met with till this very moment!); and that they exposed themselves to the divine malediction, by associating with this reprobate body. From thence, animated by their zeal, they formed a design of taking up all the Huguenots, who had been interred indiscriminately with the Catholics, and leaving their carcases a prey to the crows. Two things hindered the execution of a design as contrary to religion as to nature itself: the difficulty of distinguishing the bodies, and fear lest the Protestants, who composed two thirds of the army, should think their honour engaged to revenge upon the living Catholics an outrage, which, through a zeal for religion, exceeded all others.

The King, who perceived these dispositions on both sides, instead of blaming any particular person, or suffering a discontent to appear, which might increase the public broils, affected to say openly, that the misfortune was not so great as they figured to themselves. In reality, great as it was, it did not appear so considerable to this prince as a division, which, without the greatest address upon his part, might either deprive him of all the Catholics in his party, or, on the first opportunity, set one half against the other. It was very hard for this prince, in the midst of so many and such sensible disquietudes, to be obliged to keep all within his own heart, and substitute unworthy compliances in the place of absolute commands: but he was not ignorant that the tone of authority, which has the power of subjecting all men, when it proceeds from

a man known for his superior abilities, has no effect upon minds inflamed and disunited by religion.

He was also perfectly sensible, that after the misfortune occasioned by such bad conduct, nothing now remained to be done but to raise the siege of Rouen: and he only sought for a plausible pretence for doing so, without awakening at the same time the public dissensions. He learned therefore with great joy, that the Prince of Parma, reinforced by the troops of the Duke of Maienne and Sfondrate, was returning hastily to give him battle. He thought this a favourable opportunity to lessen the shame of raising the siege, and to turn against the common enemy the fury of two parties which were rending his army in pieces.

That he might gain time to abandon his lines without confusion, and regulate the order of his march, he sent Givry to throw himself into Neuf-Châtel, which the enemy would be obliged to take before they could come to Rouen. This, although a place of sufficient strength, did not hold out near so long as he had expected: the cause of which is difficult to be assigned; but the whole blame was cast upon Palcheux, who was much weaker, and worse sustained, than Givry*, although an old officer, and distinguished by his actions and his wounds, he sustained all the violence of the storm; and was put under arrest at Dieppe, in my opinion, very unjustly. The relations and friends whom the garison of Neuf-Châtel had in the party of the league, seemed to me to be the true cause that the place made so slight a resistance. It surrendered in the middle of March. The King, by his care and diligence, repaired this misfortune, and drew off his

* Neuf-Châtel might have been taken in an hour's time, says Matthieu; who nevertheless, as well as the Duke of Sully, blamed Givry for surrendering without making greater resistance. *vol. 2. p. 102.*

troops from Rouen without receiving the least check *; and, putting himself at their head, advanced without loss of time to that side on which he knew the Prince of Parma was approaching the city.

On his arrival at a plain, where the enemy's army must pass, he waited for it; and as soon as it appeared, sent and offered the Prince of Parma battle. The Prince accepted it with apparent joy, although inwardly he was very averse. He was afraid of engaging with a general such as he knew Henry to be, and of exposing to the event of a battle the reputation of the most able warrior in Europe, which a long series of great actions had acquired him among his partisans. Finding himself now in such a situation as that he might be forced to fight, he had recourse to one of the most artful stratagems imaginable to avoid it: he caused the best troops amongst all his battalions to advance, and composed of them a front of battle; behind which he drew up, as without design, all his cavalry. Under favour of this front of infantry, ordered as usual for an action, and seeming to wait only for the signal, all his cavalry, the remainder of his foot, and the whole baggage, entered into the defiles, which served for an outlet to the enemy's camp; and, covered by hills and bushes, which the Prince of Parma knew marvellously well how to take advantage of, they saw themselves very soon out of reach of the King's army, who were ignorant of all that passed behind the camp. This front of infantry, which had no depth, taking the same route after the others, in

* This siege cost the King a great many soldiers. In those times it was reported that he lost 3000 men, and the besieged only 500. The Earl of Essex challenged Adm. de Villars to single combat, who replied, that his quality of Governor forbade him. See the Chron. Noyen. and Mezerai.

four and twenty hours all disappeared ; nor was it possible, on account of the ground being full of narrow streights and necks of mountains, to disorder the enemy's retreat, or to engage with his rearguard.

The Prince of Parma was extremely rejoiced, that, without the least loss, he had reached the very gates of Rouen. He knew no person would be hardy enough to attempt to storm him under the walls of this city ; his design, therefore, was to stay there about six weeks, which was a sufficient time to refresh his army, and afterwards to march back to the Somme by Neuf-Châtel, Aumale, St Valery, and Pontdormy ; confining all the expeditions of this campaign to the advantage of putting this capital, and the rest of the cities that kept firm to the league, out of a condition to apprehend any thing from the King's army. Henry penetrated into this general's designs ; and forbearing obstinately to make head against an army so advantageously posted, suffered the Prince of Parma to enjoy his triumph, and laid another snare for him. He disbanded his whole army, as if it had now become useless to him, or as if he had been constrained to it by necessity. Part of it was dispersed in Arques, Dieppe, Gournai, Andely, Gisors, Magny, and other distant places ; and part had Mante, Meulan, and the adjoining places for its quarters : the rest he spread about Pont de l'Arche, Evreux, Passy, Vernon, Conches, and Breteuil, and fixed himself at Louviers. This conduct was sufficiently justified by appearances : it would not have been long possible to have subsisted a numerous army, had he kept them together ; but by the disposition of his quarters, particularly the last, where he had distributed all his best troops, and by the promise he had exacted from his officers to repair to Pont de l'Arche at the first order, it was easy for him to
reunite

reunite his army in a short time. This separation, he reckoned, would make the Spanish general perfectly secure, and furnish him with some means of surprising him, at least in his retreat.

In effect, the Prince of Parma, fearing that Rouen, surrounded by so large an army, would be speedily famished, and to whom it was represented that there would be no danger in spreading himself over the country, made part of his troops advance to Ponteau-demer : D'Hacqueville delivered up this city to him cowardly enough ; and the King not only seemed to be indifferent about it, but feigned moreover an ignorance of the enemy's design upon Caudebec, which greatly annoyed the city of Rouen ; and neglecting to send supplies to La Garde, who was governor of it, suffered this place to be taken. He observed, with extreme pleasure, that the enemy, after these two conquests, attracted by the conveniency of lodgings and provisions, extended themselves along the Seine, below Rouen, as far as they could. The Spanish general, however, was not without suspicion of some secret design in this inactivity, so unusual with Henry ; and doubtless, had he been the sole commander of this army, he would not have hazarded so much. But he reposed himself upon the assurances of his colleague, the Duke of Maienne, who was then detained in Rouen, by an indisposition, that no misfortune could befall him ; and he believed it, upon a supposition that he was better acquainted with the state and disposition of the countries.

The King, finding the enemy contributed of themselves to serve his designs, resolved to hasten their execution. In less than eight days he assembled 20,000 foot and 8000 horse, with whom he speedily advanced to Varicarville and Fontaine-le-bourg. All the passages between Rouen and Caudebec he shut up, and began with revenging himself

self completely for the taking this place and Ponteaudemmer, by cutting off from the troops which were there, all communication with the body of the army, which put them wholly into his discretion. He afterwards came in person with 10,000 foot and 3000 troopers, to attack, without delay, the enemy's vanguard, commanded by the Duke of Guise. The surprise into which his sudden arrival threw this troop, rendered the conquest of them easy. The Duke's squadrons were broke through at the first onset, and he was obliged to fly with precipitation towards the body of the battalions, leaving with a great number of the slain, all the baggage, which was considerable, in the power of the vanquisher.

The Prince of Parma, struck as with a thunder-bolt at this news, applied himself wholly to securing his other quarters, by placing the Duke of Guise as Yvetot, and in fortifying the camp, in which he lodged his dispersed troops, on all sides. He was desirous of quartering all the army there; but as this camp was too small to contain it, he commanded the rest not to remove far from it, to guard their posts with great care, and to keep themselves very close. After this precaution, which he did not think sufficient, to support all the lodgments spread around his camp, he posted 3000 men in a wood which bounded them, fortified this wood all round with intrenchments, and joined it by a line of communication with the camp. The last step the King had taken made him extremely formidable to the Prince of Parma; but this prince thought to escape him by his great foresight, and diligence in going where-ever his presence was necessary: he was again mistaken. The next day the King ordered the Baron of Biron to attack the wood with a body of 8000 infantry, composed of an equal number of English, Dutch, and Germans,

to animate them by emulation to excel each other, and caused them to be supported by 600 troopers, completely armed. The attack lasted three hours; at the end of which the wood was carried. Those who defended it, seeing themselves broke through, fled in disorder to the fortified camp, after having lost above 800 of their men. Their flight exposed the greatest part of the lodgments, particularly that of Yvetot, where the Prince of Parma thought he had inclosed, as in a place of asylum, the Duke of Guise, with the same vanguard that had been so badly handled already. Henry, as if he had a personal hatred to the Duke of Guise, hastened to reconnoitre the quarter of Yvetot; and judging by the alarm, and the confused cries he heard there, that their consternation was not yet over, he fell upon this quarter with 400 musketeers and 1000 foot, armed with pistols and halberts, and attacked it in several places at once. The Prince of Parma, who had not expected such rapid execution, saw his whole vanguard upon the point of being put to the sword; and taking counsel only of necessity, ran thither himself, and vigorously sustained our efforts, till the troops of this whole quarter had gained the fortified camp. He lost there 7 or 800 men, almost all private soldiers. The greatest misfortune was, that in this action, wherein he behaved like a man who knew as well how to fight as to command, he received a very dangerous wound in the arm*.

Night

* The little reliance one can have on the exactness of those military details which the historians give us, is shewn particularly in this, in which I have observed a great many contradictions amongst them, with regard to the incampments, and the number and date of the encounters. The author of these Memoirs relates all these expeditions in such a manner, that he seems to allow but three or four days for actions which could not, and were not, performed in less than three weeks. He can no otherwise be justified, than by supposing

Night approached before this battle was ended. The King, instead of taking any rest after a day so well improved, employed the night wholly in preparing himself for greater advantages. Judging therefore, that the enemy's army, numerous indeed, and covered with intrenchments, yet dismayed, and half vanquished, would keep close within their camp, where their number would hurt them more than it could serve them, he hesitated not a moment in undertaking to force it. That readiness which governed all the actions of this prince, was in him not only the effect of nature, but the fruit of reading, in particular the lives of Cæsar and Scipio, whom he studied preferably to all the conquerors of antiquity. He drew out in the night six pieces of cannon, which he pointed against the fortification of the camp, that he might make use of them at the dawn of day. He visited his whole army; and kept it in such a disposition, that it might be drawn out at this hour at the same place, in order of battle. His commands were

sing that he intended to give a slight notion only of this campaign. D'Aubigné, either because he was ignorant of the facts, or had no design to relate them minutely, gives room for the same mistake, as our Memoirs, vol. 3. book 3. c. 15. It is in De Thou, Davila, Matthieu, Cayet, and the Memoirs of the league for 1592, that we must look for them; although, as I have just said, their relations differ in many circumstances. According to the Memoirs of the league, which, in my opinion, merit most to be credited, the King defeated the Duke of Guise on the 28th of April, and another body of troops on the 1st of May; on the 5th attacked the fortifications before the camp; and on the 10th, at five o'clock in the morning, began the great attack, in which the Prince of Parma received this dangerous wound, vol. 5. De Thou will have it, that it was at the taking of Caudebec that the Prince of Parma was wounded, and that he did not pass the Seine till the 22d of May. Book 103. Cayet is of the same opinion. vol. 2. b. 4. p. 32. *et seqq.* Matthieu blames Henry IV. for not taking the Duke of Maienne prisoner at the skirmish of Yvetot, and, with as little reason, for avoiding a decisive battle. p. 109. The King is by some others accused of still greater faults, in being ignorant of the Prince of Parma's preparations to pass the river, and with not knowing how to prevent him.

executed with the greatest exactness: his former successes gave an authority to all his words, that made the most mutinous docile.

Here I cannot refuse all my praises to the Prince of Parma for an action, which, in my opinion, can never be sufficiently admired. His camp was between Rouen and Caudebec, at some distance from the Seine, over which, in all that interval, there was not any bridge; yet the next morning there was nothing to be found any longer in this camp. All the troops, who lay there, if I may speak so, heaped one upon another, those that were in Caudebec, and, in general, all that were spread about the neighbourhood of it, had transported themselves to the other side of the river. Can it appear otherwise than a fable, or an illusion? Scarce could the King and his army believe their own eyes?

The Prince of Parma had foreseen the King's resolution to attack him in his camp the next day; and he did not doubt, after what had passed, but it would be forced, and his whole army delivered up to the mercy of the victors. A foresight useless, and only productive of despair to any other, whose prudence had not beforehand provided a resource. But, notwithstanding all the Duke of Maienne's representations, he had not delivered himself up so entirely to that security he would have inspired him with, as to neglect any means that might extricate him from a bad step, if it should happen that he should be one day inveigled in a country where there were few resources, as on the borders of the Seine below Rouen.

These measures had been to provide himself secretly with all the boats he could find, which he caused to be brought near Caudebec. It was to this precaution, which few generals had been capable of, that the Prince of Parma owed the safety
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of his troops, and the preservation of his glory, of his reputation, and perhaps of his life. He caused these boats to be laid over the river in the night; and notwithstanding the disorder of his camp, and the inconvenience arising from his wound, he gave such good orders, that a bridge was built that very night, over which his whole army and baggage passed securely. This we received particular information of the next day at Caudebec, which surrendered as soon as we approached. He only deserves the reputation of a consummate warrior, who, before a battle, is as cautious as if he was persuaded he should be conquered, and in it behaves as if he was sure of conquering.

On the King's side, the first moment only was lost in surprise; all the others were employed in taking speedy measures to deprive the Spanish general of part of the fruits of his dexterity. Henry, after having well considered his attempt, and removed all doubts of success from his own mind, held a council of war, and there proposed to pass his army over Pont de l'Arche, or at Vernon, and pursue the enemy without loss of time. Some of us, though indeed a very small number, supported this sentiment as it deserved. If it had been followed, this campaign had perhaps been the last of the war. But one may say, that the Prince of Parma, having done more than could have been expected from humanity, obliged fortune now to come over to his side; for, upon the proposal of marching the army to Pont de l'Arche, a cry was raised in the council, and a kind of general mutiny, as if the King had made the most unreasonable proposition in the world. The Catholics, the Protestants, and foreigners, seemed to outvie each other in searching for difficulties to oppose it: they cried, that the Prince of Parma's army, being in a level country,

might reach the gates of Paris * in four or five days ; whereas it would be as long before we could even gain Pont de l'Arche. They represented to the King, that the way through which they must pass being full of forests, mountains, and defiles, the army could reach the rendezvous but in small divisions ; and that, although it should have time to come up with that of the league, the fatigue of so troublesome a march would make it impossible for them to attack it. In a word, they all treated this proposal, in itself so sensible, as a design equally ridiculous and chimerical.

The King, more enraged at the secret intentions of those who talked to him in this manner, than the purport of their discourse, could not hinder himself from replying, with some bitterness, that all these difficulties were only unsurmountable to those to whom fear, and a dislike of fatigue, made them appear so. He made it evidently appear, that they might reach Pont de l'Arche in two days, and Vernon in four, from whence they might continually send detachments of 4 or 500 horse, to retard the Prince of Parma's march ; to which also the many obstacles he would meet with would contribute, such as the passage over the river of Eure ; Louviers, Passy, Maintenon, Nogent le Roi, and Chartres, all being sufficient to oblige him to go greatly out of his way : that the enemy had no bridge open to them but those of Aquigny, Cocherel, Serisy, and two or three others which lay out of their road ; and that it would not be impossible to break or burn part of these bridges, before the enemy arrived.

These reasons rendered the thing not only plausible, but palpable ; and it may be said, that the ge-

* It is acknowledged by De Thou, that the King might have stoppt this army, by sending his cavalry to shut up the passage to Pont de l'Arche. It is very unjustly, as we find here, that he charges Henry IV. with this error.

neral officers, by refusing to yield to them, resisted reason with full conviction. And this naturally suggests two reflections : First, how it happened, that a prince, who in all his expeditions made use of mercenaries, picked up here and there, of different countries, manners, religions, and interests, often a very small number, and always ready to mutiny, should be able to perform what is related of him in his history. The second is, what this prince would have done, if, instead of such troops, he had had a considerable number of soldiers under his command, docile, united, disciplined, obedient to his will, constantly attached to his person, and willing to sacrifice their lives for him ; in a word, such troops as those conquerors had, who have been so highly exalted ? If these reflections are not made every time they offer, it is because there is ground for them in every page : and, besides, no one can be ignorant, that we should judge very ill of merit and abilities by the success, if we did not at the same time judge of the success by the obstacles.

It is scarce possible to conceive a reason for that invincible obstinacy which the general officers in the King's army discovered upon this occasion, in opposing so wise an advice, unless it was owing to that same disposition of minds which I have just now mentioned. If a small number of French Protestants be excepted, whose fidelity was unquestionable, and most of the English troops, who seemed to act sincerely, all the rest of the King's army, Protestants, Catholics, and foreigners, served him without affection, often with regret, and perhaps wished more than they feared that he might suffer some considerable loss. Notwithstanding this disaffection to their leader, there were occasions when all these persons were as it were forced to second him, and to do their duty. Such had been the attack of the Duke of Guise, the encounter at the wood, and the battle

battle that followed it. Such would have been the attack of the Prince of Parma's camp, if he had waited for us ; for at that time all the King's operations, which he knew well how to connect with each another, were executed with such rapidity, that he did not suffer their courage, when once heated, to have time to cool, nor their minds time to return to their first fashion of thinking. Moreover, the conduct of a small number of brave men is alone sufficient to raise emulation in a whole army, and force it to follow their example, when they are once engaged : but this fierceness, and this ardor, once abated, their former ideas awakened more strongly, and they were so much the more capable of imbittering their minds, as they then became sensible that they had done the very contrary of what they intended to do.

Unhappily the chiefs of the royal army were occupied in this wicked train of reflection, when the King made a motion to pursue the Prince of Parma. The Catholics, who had a little time before publicly declared, that they were resolved to withdraw their assistance, if the King did not abjure Calvinism, within a certain term which they prescribed to him, and to reunite themselves with the rest of France, there to appoint a King of their own religion : these Catholics, I say, could not relish a project, which, by making the King master of his enemy, would put him into a condition of giving them law, instead of receiving it from them.

The Huguenots, who feared this change of religion as much as the Catholics endeavoured to enhance the necessity of it, took umbrage at every thing, and always thought they were upon the point of being sacrificed, so long as the King did not sacrifice to them that interest that made him court the Catholics. Through an apprehension that, by exterminating the league, they should only labour
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for the Catholics against themselves, they the more easily accommodated themselves to a state which would at least leave the balance even, and render them necessary : and, in case the King should one day forsake their religion, they were resolved to take such measures beforehand, as might make them be feared both by the Catholics, and by him whom they gave them for a master.

These precautions were, to procure so great a number of towns to be yielded to them, to obtain such favourable edicts, and so many other assurances, that the King, although a Catholic, should find it his policy and his interest to be well with them. It was towards this end that the Duke of Bouillon, who was the principal mover of the party, directed all his views, and to which he made the 5 or 600 German horse under his command subservient. On the slightest occasion of discontent, or rather on the first caprice, they broke into murmurs, and threatened, as they did then, that they would return immediately to Germany. The King, being obliged to behave in such a manner as to satisfy equally such opposite parties, was greatly perplexed by his endeavours to choak these seeds of division : he was desirous of avoiding an open rupture, or at least of protracting it, till he should be out of danger. It was this perplexity that reduced him to compliances and proceedings, very prejudicial to the state of his affairs.

There is no labyrinth like this complication of interests which divided the different parties that composed the King's army. I have yet but touched upon the smallest part. The Catholics, besides their common object, had each of them a particular interest, which was, to make Henry purchase their personal services very dear ; and he was convinced, that, without this satisfaction, they would not bring affairs to a general conclusion. The interests
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of the French Calvinists were not entirely the same with those of the foreign Protestants. There were certain times when the English, who alone were united, agreed among themselves, that, in all the dangers they were exposed to, they were actuated by a principle of generosity, which, whatever turn affairs might take, would bring them no advantage; and, while this reflection employed their minds, they would look upon themselves as madmen, who sacrificed their lives purely to gratify the passions of foreigners, and demand leave to retire, as they did upon this occasion, when they absolutely refused to engage beyond the Seine, seeing neither any security nor resource for them in a country so distant from the sea. To exasperate them more, and to strengthen their suspicions, the Catholics seized those moments to persuade them, that the King's abjuration was become a point absolutely necessary.

With regard to the other foreigners, who acted only as they were paid, d'O, and these same Catholics, had a secret equally short and infallible, and they made use of it frequently: this was to keep the King in want of money. Therefore, when the Swiss and German horse were asked if they would pursue the Prince of Parma, they replied only by demanding their pay; protesting, that if it was not instantly given them, they would not pass the river, but to return home, or to engage in the service of the league.

Even the Spaniards, the King's declared enemies, had also their intrigues, and took part in this prince's affairs. At this very time they made a proposal to him, not only to withdraw their troops, but even to lend them to him, to serve him against the league, in a word, to put the crown upon his head, provided he would yield Burgundy and Britany to them for ever. In order to assist the King to vanquish these scruples which the making such liberality might

might raise in his mind, they recalled to his remembrance the example of Francis I. who, they said, in a situation less pressing, had abandoned to them the * sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; and that of Henry II. who had given Spain more towns † than were contained in these two provinces. The King had sufficient reason to believe, that a negotiation so unseasonable was a piece of Spanish artifice, in the taste of Hagemau, which tended only to create more confusion, and render him suspected both by the Protestants and Catholics: but, altho' this proposition had been really sincere, he had a motive for rejecting it infinitely stronger, which was the implacable hatred he bore to Spain, and the house of Austria.

At last, even the league, for some view or other, entered into the resolutions that were in the King's council. Villeroy, Jeannin, Zamet, and others, offered Henry, in the name of the league, to give him the crown upon certain conditions. It is very difficult to guess the true motive of this step: whether disgust at the haughtiness and insolence of the Spaniards, an artifice to procure new supplies, or a design to alienate the Protestants from the King. The only evidence of the sincerity of this proposition, was the very hard conditions that were annexed to it: I shall soon have occasion to expatiate upon this subject.

* By the treaty which was passed during the imprisonment of this prince at Madrid, Feb. 25. 1526, Francis I. resigned his claim there likewise to the duchies of Burgundy and Milan, to the kingdom of Naples, &c.; but this treaty was declared null by the states of the kingdom assembled at Cognac.

† By the treaty of Château-Cambresis, in January 1559, after the battle of St Quentin, for three cities only of Ham, Câtelet, and St Quentin, France yielded to Spain and her allies more than 150 fortified places. The Constable Montmorency's jealousy of the Duke of Guise, and his eagerness to be freed from his confinement, made him patch up this treaty, at which the whole kingdom murmured.

The least consequence of this chaos of views and interests was the spreading over every affair an impenetrable obscurity, and creating in every mind jealousy and distrust. It is indeed surprising, that, after this, the Protestants and Catholics could live together in the same camp, without exposing the King to the grief of seeing them mutiny, or of cutting one another's throats. Those who in a prince sought for what is termed policy, might here find ample room to praise the prudence of a King who kept so many jarring interests united, and to admire his discernment in distinguishing those who acted with fidelity towards him: nor ought it to pass unobserved, as a finishing stroke, that so many secret movements presented to view an outside tranquil and uniform. Falsehood assumed all the semblance of truth, and enmity concealed itself under the mask of friendship. Those who pretended the greatest affection to the King, either betrayed him, or laboured only to advance their own interest.

It would be useless to dissemble, that the Marechal de Biron often played this game, either through malice at being refused the government of Rouen, or desire of protracting the war*, or a disposition that took pleasure in creating over all discord and confusion. He was never known to agree with the general opinion, or to yield to the King's inclinations. He incessantly contradicted, either for the pleasure of contradicting, or for that of obliging every one to embrace his opinion. In the council, when the question that has occasioned this digression was debated, he was neither for pursuing the enemy, nor for staying in Normandy: he thought it was necessary to go before and wait for

* "What then, rascal! wouldst thou send us to plant cabbages for Biron?" said this marechal to his son, who proposed to him an expedient to finish the war at one blow. *Prefixe, part 2. ibid.*

the Prince of Parma on the frontiers of Picardy, through which he would be obliged to pass in his return to Flanders. A project singularly chimerical, which was immediately applauded by the Protestants, who were subjected to all the inclinations of this marechal.

The King saw plainly, that all efforts to retain such discontented troops in his service would be in vain. The campaign was drawing towards an end, and a siege so long and fatiguing as that of Rouen made the soldiers extremely desirous of repose. The King was resolved to grant it them: he followed that maxim, That a prince should always have the appearance of doing voluntarily even what he is constrained to do. He spoke to the foreigners, who wanted to return home, and gave them permission. He distributed all the money he had amongst them, leaving himself without any to supply his most essential expences: and though they were not wholly satisfied in this respect, yet they had reason to be pleased with the noble manner in which he praised and thanked them for their services. As he had left Normandy in peace, and (except Rouen, and a few other cities) entirely reduced under his obedience; and as there was no reason to apprehend, that the army of the league would come thither soon, he permitted all the officers of his army, as well Catholics as Protestants, to retire to their habitations: and, to lay the Marechal de Biron under a necessity of not abandoning him with his Protestants, which, after this permission, he foresaw he would do, he declared, that he would abide by his advice, and in a few days would set forwards to Picardy; not that he really entered into this marechal's views, but as he had not yet shewn himself in that province, nor in Champagne, he thought it necessary to make himself known there, and to endeavour to conciliate the affections of the people

towards him. A more secret motive * contributed to favour and confirm this resolution ; and Biron, who knew and flattered the King's weaknesses, drew from thence his best reason.

B O O K V.

WHile the King, with a few Protestants, pursued the road to Picardy, the Prince of Parma lost not a moment in regaining Paris, from whence, without any difficulty, he returned to Flanders, but little satisfied with his campaign, discontented to the last degree with the league and its chiefs, and much troubled at a wound which he perceived was incurable.

It is in general and particular histories that a detail of all that was performed this year, and the preceding, in different places of the kingdom, must be sought for. The attack of St Dennis †, where the Chevalier d'Aumale lost his life ; the taking Stenay and Dun, in Lorrain ; the defeat of the Sieur d'Amblise, with the Duke of Bouillon's ‡ other martial exploits, either before or after his marriage ;

* His passion for Mademoiselle d'Estrées. He sometimes stole from his army to go and see her. He once disguised himself like a country man, passed through the midst of the enemy's guards, and came to her house, not without running the risk of being taken.
Notes upon the Henriade.

† Claude de Lorrain, knight of the order of St John of Jerusalem, having surprised this city at the head of a body of troops in the service of the league, De Vie ran and beat them back. The Chevalier d'Aumale was killed in this encounter.

‡ The Duke of Bouillon took Stenay the same day that his nuptials were celebrated. Africanus d'Anglure d'Amblise, general of the troops of Lorrain, coming to attack Beaumont in Argonne, a city three leagues from Sedan, which the Duke of Bouillon had taken from the Duke of Lorrain, Bouillon defeated his troops under the walls of this place, and D'Amblise was slain.

the loss of the battle of Craon *; the defeat of the Sieur de la Guerche, and the blockade of Poitiers, are the principal actions, to which an infinite number of others in Provence, Dauphiné, and Poitou, may be added. From the departure of the Prince of Parma, to the negotiations which preceded the King's coronation, many things happened worthy of remark, and may likewise be found there. I have, in another place, justified my silence in all these respects, and the liberty I allow myself of specifying only the most important facts; among which are those that regard the Count of Soissons, and the Duke of Epernon; and even upon these the narration I have just made has not permitted me to expatiate.

The Count of Soissons, after having abandoned the King's party, and been at open variance with him at Bearn, still retained hopes of marrying the Princess, his sister, of whose affections he always remained master. By the death of Henry III. to whom he had last attached himself, he was left in the King's army, whom he served without affection, and only till he had resolved upon some new project, or till some occasion favourable to his love presented itself. He thought he found one in the siege of Rouen, an enterprise, in his opinion, of too much importance to afford the King leisure to oc-

* This battle was fought before the city of Craon in Anjou, which was then besieged by the royalist troops; they were composed of French, English, and Germans, to the number of 7 or 8000 men, commanded by the Duke of Montpensier, the Prince of Conty, the Duke of Damville, &c. who were defeated by the Duke of Mercœur, at the head of the Spanish troops, and those of the league. About the same time, George de la Villequier, Viscount de la Guerche, attempting to pass the Vienne, a river in Poitou, was defeated at the head of a small body of troops of the league, and himself drowned in the river. See a relation of the blockade of Poitiers, and the several skirmishes before this city, in d'Aubigné, vol. 3. book 3. c. 11. For all these expeditions consult likewise the historians above cited.

cupy himself in other affairs. He feigned a journey to Nogent, and, stealing away from the camp, went secretly, and with the utmost expedition, to Bearn, in order to accomplish his marriage there unknown to Henry. But he was one of those persons whose most inconsiderable actions were strictly observed by the King. This Prince penetrating into the Count's designs, sent such orders there, that the Count, upon his arrival at Bearn, found the Princess Catherine indeed in the most favourable dispositions towards him, and some say that she had herself solicited him to take this journey : but it was quite otherwise with the council, which the King had established, in his absence, to conduct this province. The *Sieur de Pangeas*, who was at the head of this council, made head against him, shewed him the orders he had received from the King, raised the country upon him, and obliged him at last to return to France, with the disgrace of having failed in his attempt ; for which the Count could take no other vengeance on Pangeas, than by throwing him down a staircase one day, when he met him in the King's apartments at Pontoise.

By all these strokes the Count of Soisson's character may be easily understood ; to finish the picture, let it be added, that there never was a more blind or more boundless ambition. To him all new events appeared as so many steps whereby to arrive at his ends, and engaged him in new measures, which threw him at so much the greater distance from them, as he imagined he approached nearer. He himself knew not well the object his wishes aimed at ; restless, uneasy, and jealous, his ambition was fed by every thing, and drew advantage from nothing. Nature had given him qualities quite contrary to those of the King ; he resembled him neither in humour nor manners. The King was open and frank ; the Count of Soissons, to a mind naturally

rally dry and improvident, added an affected phlegm, and all that is despicable in dissimulation. He endeavoured to impose upon the world an assumed seriousness for an air of grandeur; laboured to appear impenetrable, and mistook the frozen countenance which false gravity wears for respect. Pomp and apparel was perfectly his taste: in a word, ambition had taken possession of his heart, and his whole exterior conduct was made up of ceremonials and formality. The near affinity this character bore to that of the Spaniards in general, was perhaps the source of that antipathy the King conceived for him, and which he could never surmount.

As for the Duke of Epèrnon *, ambition was not his only and predominant passion; he was likewise

* John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, Duke of Epèrnon, Colonel-General of France, Governor of Guienne, Metz, and the county of Meffin. He died in 1642, aged 88 years; and, as the author of his life observes, he was the oldest duke and peer of France, the oldest officer of the crown, general of an army, governor of a province, knight of any order, and counsellor of state, and almost the oldest man of rank in his time. He was called *the King's wardrobe*, because of the great number of posts which he possessed in this prince's household. There is recorded a very fine answer of his to Henry IV. who one day, in anger, reproached him with not loving him. The Duke of Epèrnon, says his historian, without being surprised at the King's rage, answered coolly, but with great gravity, "Sire, your Majesty has not a more faithful servant than myself in the kingdom: I would rather die, than fail in the least part of my duty to you; but, Sire, as for friendship, your Majesty well knows that is only to be acquired by friendship." The King, who equally knew how to admire great actions and speeches of this kind, converted all his indignation into esteem, &c. *Life of the Duke of Epèrnon*, p. 225. The character which is here given of him by the Duke of Sully, is rather too disadvantageous; however, it would not be easy to refute what he says. All the historians agree with him, in charging the Duke of Epèrnon with a boundless ambition; and his correspondence with Spain is proved by several letters of the Cardinal d'Osirat. As for his extraction, "Patrem," says Busbequius, "habuit bello egregium, avum tabellionem sive notarium." *Epist.* 17. On the contrary, according to Father Vaissette, he descended from William de Nogaret, famous for his quarrels with the Pope in the reign of Philip le Bel. Consult likewise our genealogists.

actuated by an unconquerable pride; an insolence, or rather a natural ferocity, which shewed itself at the first instant. Ambition, 'tis said, makes use of various methods to accomplish its designs. Epernon, upon this footing, could not be an ambitious man; for he knew only one way, which was that haughtiness by which he expected to carry all before him. In a word, ambition was, in him, but a natural love of independence, inspired by hardness of heart, misanthropy, and a presumption that made him consider himself above condescension and recompense. He hated the King, because he hated the whole world; and, without doubt, there were many moments when he was not too well satisfied with himself. A constant disobedience to his superiors, an ungainly intercourse with his equals, and a cruel and insupportable conduct towards his inferiors, make up the rest of this character.

Epernon, finding that his enterprises had not the success his pride had promised him, was obliged to alter his behaviour, and sometimes, though but seldom, behaved courteously to those whom he might have occasion for; but even his very caresses (if that phrase may be allowed when speaking of him) had a sort of spleen and contempt in them: so that if he hated the world, he was equally hated by it; no one served him from any other motive than fear, which was the cause that, with great dispositions for war, and in a situation which might have made them useful, he ruined his affairs. Provence and Dauphiné held for him, and for La-Valette his brother. These provinces, whose governor, before him, had been the grand prior *, the natural brother of their three last kings, despised him first

* Henry, Count d'Angoulême, son of Henry II. and of — Livingston, a Scotch lady.

for his extraction, and hated him after for his cruelty. They were rejoiced when Epemon (who, when Henry III. was living, would not remove far from the court) sent them La-Valette in his stead, who made himself agreeable to Provence, and served the King with fidelity, Henry III. becoming acquainted with the true character of his favourite, began to be apprehensive of him himself; he disgraced Epemon, and had thoughts even of putting him under an arrest at Angoulême. La-Valette, on this occasion, lost his government; but all was restored to him after the murder of the Duke of Guise, which laid Henry III. under the necessity of strengthening himself with every one whom he could engage in his party, at any price whatever. After the death of this prince, Epemon, whose vanity would not suffer him to obey the King of Navarre, quitted him at Pontoise, notwithstanding all the instances he made him by Mess. de Bellegarde and Roquelaure to return, and all the prayers he himself employed. To oppose a King was a circumstance too flattering to his pride, and in his government of Provence he forgot nothing that might contribute to it. He was the first amongst the nobility to sign the King of Navarre's exclusion from the crown. It will not be rash to judge, by Epemon, of the sincerity of this motive of religion, with which it was then ordinary to cloak themselves, in withdrawing from lawful authority.

The remainder of the Duke of Epemon's history will give a superficial knowledge of the affairs of the provinces in the south of France. He there experienced great reverses: the two brothers assisting each other mutually, were often worsted, and could not prevent three or four considerable parties from being formed in Dauphiné and Provence, which opposed them there, without reckoning one in each of the great towns, which endeavoured to make themselves

themselves independent. The Duke of Savoy, and the Duke of Nemours his brother, carried on intrigues there; and their party became very powerful, after the King of Spain had permitted the Duke of Savoy, who was his son-in law, and whom he vigorously supported, to be acknowledged Count of Provence, and hold this fief of his crown. In the midst of their successes, these two princes met with a formidable adversary, that stopped them in their career, and reduced their party to ineffectual menaces. This was Lesdiguières, remarkable for his valour and good fortune against the Duke of Savoy. He always continued faithful to the King, and could never be reproached with having appropriated to himself the fruits of his actions, nor of having coveted the sovereignty of Dauphiné. Perhaps he only wished that the King might long have occasion for his assistance, and never come into this province. Mess. de Montmorency and d'Ornano gave much strength to this party. The others were formed by the Duke of Joyeuse, the Countess of Sault, and the Count of Carces, with the Sieur de Vins. Lewis d'Aix and Cajoux, Ligny, Martinengue, and many others, raised tumults there, and filled these countries with divisions and carnage; but their faction did not yet extend itself beyond the bounds of one city. La Valette was hardly able to support himself longer in Dauphiné, when he was slain at the siege of a little inconsiderable town. The Duke of Epemon immediately invaded this government: for form's sake, he demanded letters-patent for it from the King, who durst not refuse them to him; but upon this, instead of quelling all these different parties, he went thither only to make a new one, upon which the King had as little reason to depend as upon any of the others. One may judge of this, by what passed at the siege of Villemur, the only
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action which I shall particularise from memoirs, the authenticity of which I can warrant.

The Duke of Joyeuse, a zealous partizan of the league in Languedoc, having drawn together 5 or 6000 foot and 8 or 900 horse, in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, advanced with them on the 15th of June, in the year 1592, towards Montauban, pillaged the little villages, and the flat countries, and, after exercising all the cruelties which passed as common in those miserable times, came and laid siege to Villemur.

The Sieur d'Ariat, from whom I give this detail, and the citizens of Villemur, had recourse to Thémynes, who commanded for the King in that province, and intreated him to come immediately, with powerful supplies, to their assistance. Thémynes, knowing he was not strong enough, addressed himself to the Duke of Epemon; and while he waited for the reinforcement the Duke promised to give him, sent a detachment of small bodies of cavalry and foot, which got into Villemur with great difficulty, the troopers on foot, because their horses could be of no use to them, the city was so closely invironed. Joyeuse was severely punished for the error he was guilty of there, as we shall see presently. This error was the attacking the town itself, instead of beginning with the castle, which, although much stronger in appearance, was in reality the weakest. Doubtless he was not sufficiently acquainted with the place, or had a design to make use of the magazines of corn, and other ammunitions, of which he knew the city was full.

Epemon sent indeed a considerable body of troops; but as he had given them orders to act but faintly, and, above all, not to run the risk of fighting these troops, although upon their arrival they made a very great noise, minded nothing but recreation, abandoned their posts, and, by their bad example, did more harm

harm than good to the other royalist soldiers. Joyeuse, who did not want courage, especially when he was to act in person, finding the occasion favourable, and perhaps doubtful of the Duke of Epéron's designs, fell upon his soldiers, surprised them, and would have made a great slaughter, if Thémînes had not run thither time enough to save the remainder; he could not, however, prevent 7 or 800 from being slain. There needed no more to make Epéron recall them absolutely *. Thémînes afterwards strongly solicited both him and the *Maréchal de Matignon* for assistance, but in vain; and all he could do was, to throw himself into *Villemur*, with *d'Ariat*, 250 arquebusiers, and about 100 or 120 troopers, to support the besieged, whom Joyeuse pressed more vigorously than before. He obliged *Reiner*, who was Lord of it, but who was grown too infirm to perform the duties of a governor upon this occasion, to go out, and resolved to defend himself there till the last extremity, being assured, that the King, to whom he imparted his situation, would not suffer him to perish.

In effect, this prince wrote instantly to the Dukes de *Montmorency* and *Epéron*, to send him supplies. This last, accustomed to disobey, gave no attention to this order; but *Montmorency* sent him *Lecques* and *Chambaut*, with some brave Protestant troops. These were still too few in number to oppose the army of Joyeuse, lately reinforced by the inhabitants of *Toulouse*. *Lecques* and *Chambaut*, therefore, had recourse to *Messillac*, lieutenant for the

* All this is so positive, that it may balance the authority of *De Thou*, who mentions this fact very favourably for the Duke of Epéron, and that of the author of this Duke's life, who maintains, that his soldiers drove those belonging to the league from *Villemur*, and put this place into a state of defence, p. 134. The *Chron. Noven.* agrees here with our *Memoirs*, b. 4. p. 63. as likewise the *Memoirs of the league*, vol. 5.

King in Auvergne, and to the Viscount de Gourdon, as remarkable for his courage and fidelity, as for his deformity. These two officers marched immediately to the assistance of Villemur, with 800 arquebusers and 280 horse. Joyeuse sent to offer them battle, which they refused, warned by the misfortune which had happened to Epernon's troops, and occupied only about their object. After this refusal, the besiegers cavalry, who found themselves too much straitened in their lines, demanded permission of Joyeuse to remove into the neighbouring villages; which this general granted with difficulty, and contrary to the opinions of the Sieurs d'Onous and Montberaut. He obliged the officers to give their words, that, upon the first signal which should be made them, they should return to the camp without loss of time.

Messillac, Lecques, and Chambaut, perceiving that this removal of the cavalry had extremely weakened the army of the besiegers, divided their whole foot into four bands, to each of which they added fifty troopers, whom they caused to dismount. A regiment of 800 men was drawn up in battalia, within view of the intrenchments, with orders to charge on a certain signal. Four hundred men attacked the first intrenchment, and were supported by the four troops. The guard there usually consisted of no more than 200 foot; but Joyeuse, who had spies amongst us, being advertised of the attack a few moments beforehand, sent thither 400 men more, and at the same time made the cannon fire three times, which was the signal agreed upon with his cavalry. It happened, that either through slackness in obeying on their side, or eagerness on that of the Protestants, this cavalry did not come up till after the action was begun. Our men advanced before sunrise, and falling upon the first intrenchment, laid 100 of those who defended it dead upon the ground;

ground; the rest fled towards the second intrenchment, and carrying thither only their fears, this, though much better than the first, was forced in the same manner, and with a considerable loss.

Thémines beholding all within the walls, seconded the assailants, and made so seasonable a sally, that he completed the rout of the besiegers. Their cavalry shewed themselves that moment at the head of the camp; but, instead of putting a stop to the disorder, they no sooner perceived the 800 men, which composed the body of reserve, with 300 horse pushing against them, than they followed the motion of the rest of the army, and sought for their safety in flight. Fear increasing every moment, it soon became a general rout, which it was not possible for Joyeuse to prevent. Dragged along himself with the fugitives, he gained a bridge of planks and ropes which he had ordered to be thrown over the Tarn. The number of those who hastened thither, on this side, overcharging this bridge, it sunk under Joyeuse, and he and all that were with him were swallowed up in the river. Fear had so blinded the rest of the troops, that, still imagining they saw a bridge where none now was, they plunged into the waves where it had stood. More than 3000 foot and 400 horse perished on this occasion, either by the sword or the water. An enormous loss for an army so inconsiderable; whereas the royalists did not lose thirty men. The citizens of Villemur beheld this astonishing spectacle from the top of their walls, with a joy mingled with surprise and horror; which made them compare an effect of fear, which had the appearance of a prodigy, with that which the sacred history relates of the Egyptians at the passage of the Red sea. But it is time to return to the King.

This prince went into Picardy, and, in order to give occupation to his troops, sent the Marechal de Biron

Biron to besiege Epernai. The siege was long and obstinate ; Biron was slain there by a cannon-ball*. And if the King, who during this time staid at Compeigne, had not determined to shew himself before this city, they would have found a difficulty in taking it. He defeated a powerful supply which endeavoured to throw itself into the place, and obliged it at last to surrender.

His funds failing him absolutely, he was obliged, after this expedition, to disband all the remainder of foreign troops. He continued some time longer in his quarters, upon the report that was spread, that the Prince of Parma was to return, for the third time, into France, to execute the great projects he had formed against the King. The death of this brave general † happened very fortunately to remove the disquietude of Henry, who saw himself not in a condition to resist such an enemy. The Spanish army, having lost its chief, dispersed. The time that was taken up in appointing his successor, gave the King leisure to breathe again ; he

* Which took off his head. He was almost as famous for his learning as his abilities in war. De Thou greatly regrets the loss we have had of his Commentaries. He commanded in chief in seven battles, and every wound he received in these battles made a scar. He was godfather to Cardinal de Richelieu, who was named after him. The city of Gontaut, in Agenois, gave its name to this family. See the panegyric of this marechal in Brantome, vol. 3.

† At Arras in the abbey of St Vaast. The Spaniards were accused of having poisoned him through jealousy, but the wound he received in Normandy the year before, joined to the bad make of his body, was the only cause of his death, as was acknowledged when he was opened. *Coyet, ibid.* 90. See in De Thou, book 104. a panegyric on his great qualities. His body was carried through Lorraine to Italy, attended by 160 horse, caparisoned in black. He was no more than forty-eight years of age. He complained of being twice poisoned by the Spaniards, if we may believe D'Aubigné, who assures us that the Italians were so strongly persuaded of it, that from that time they could never endure the Spaniards, *vol.* 3. *b.* 3. *c.* 28. And this also is the opinion of Bongars, book 49.

drew near to Paris, and thought of nothing but availing himself of the Spaniards removal.

I did not attend the King in his journey to Picardy. I went to Mante, where finding Madam de Châteaupers in a disposition favourable to my love, I married this lady, and our nuptials were celebrated the same day that the Prince of Parma *, with his army, passed through Houdan.

To confess the truth, the King's politics were not to my taste. I saw with uneasiness, that the exigency of his affairs laid him under the necessity of complying with every desire of the Catholics of his party, and that all the Protestants remained without recompense, and were altogether neglected, especially since the departure of the foreign troops, which gave their rivals all advantages over them. I had, in particular, often experienced the effects of their hatred or jealousy, from whence I concluded, that all the roads to fortune were shut against me for ever. I was likewise disgusted with the King's behaviour towards me ; his coldness, though I knew it to be feigned, had such an appearance of a total estrangement, that I determined to quit war, and retire to my estate, there to live far from business, and the tumult of life.

The event justified the King's prudence, and I was the first to come over to his opinion, and to give him advice very opposite to my first sentiments ; but then I saw all things with other eyes.

* This could not be but the 23d or 24th of May, as the Prince of Parma did not pass the Seine till the night of the 21st or 22d of that month. There must therefore be a mistake either in the New journal of Henry III. printed in 1720, (where, in p. 271. the Duke of Sully's marriage is observed to be celebrated on the 18th), or in the Memoirs of Sully. The Baron de Rosny's second wife was called *Rachel de Cochefilet*, daughter of James Lord of Vaucelas, and of Mary d'Arbaleste. She was first married to Francis Huraut, Lord of Châteaupers, and Marais, who died in 1590. She died after the Duke of Sully, in 1659, aged 93 years.

The reflection on all that the Protestants and myself had to suffer ; the little consideration I appeared to be then of, and somewhat of that general disposition of mind which always dictates the interest of religion, formed all my resolutions, and were the foundation of a system which I built for the King, and which at that time seemed to me to be the only one reasonable. I would have had this prince doing justice to those who had served him with zeal and affection, to have refused all other assistance, and cast himself entirely in their arms. I was persuaded, that after such an open declaration of his dependence upon the Protestants, England, Holland, and all the Protestant powers in Europe, would exert themselves so effectually in his favour, that they would soon, without any obligation to the Catholics, seat him upon the throne.

In this, as in every thing else, the King's understanding was greatly superior to mine. He knew, from the first instant, that a kingdom, like France, was not to be gained by foreign hands ; and although it had appeared even possible, yet it was the hearts of the French, rather than their crown, that this good prince sought to conquer. And he would have thought the rewards which, on that occasion, he should be obliged to bestow upon the authors of his elevation, to their prejudice, to have been an incroachment upon their lawful right.

My last motive for retiring was, that a little after I arrived at Mante, the wounds in my mouth and neck, which I had received in that unfortunate encounter at Chartres, opened again, and obliged me to go to Rosny to be radically cured, to prevent the fatal consequences which generally attend wounds of that nature. I continued there some time : after a life so tumultuous as that which till this moment I had led, I tasted the pure pleasure that a retired life offers to those who are devoid of ambition.

ambition. I amused myself also in writing the events, varied by good and bad fortune, to which I had been exposed for twenty years.

Buhy, the King's lieutenant in the Vexin, came one day to visit me, and informed me, that the King had written to all the governors to draw together all the troops they were able, and to come speedily to his assistance : for it was about this time that they were in the fullest expectation of the Prince of Parma's return into France ; and Buhy, therefore, asked me, if I would not, upon this occasion, do as others. This question recalled the remembrance of the many governments which I had requested, and had been denied to me ; and, lastly, the post of one of the King's lieutenants, which the Duke of Nevers and the Catholics had hindered me from obtaining, in a haughty and insulting manner. I answered this officer, with some emotion, that if the King had had any occasion for my service, he would have done me the honour to write me. Buhy found something of anger in my reply, and, like a good courtier, exaggerated it, when he repeated it to the King, and gave him to understand, that he ought no longer to have any dependence on me, for I had resolved to spend the rest of my days in the country. This circumstance was altogether of his own invention ; for I did not esteem Buhy so much as to make him the confident of my secrets. " His humour then is greatly altered," replied the King immediately, " for he never failed " to be present on such occasions as are now approaching. Although he excuses himself on account of his wounds, I know well what detains him ; he is offended with me, and with some reason. He would play the philosopher for the future ; but when I see him, I shall be able to make all up again ; for I know him."

This conversation passed in the presence of the President

President Seguier, who dined with me some time after, and related it to me. Having freely poured my heart into the bosom of this great magistrate, whom I knew to be equally a good friend, an honest man, and an excellent politician, he answered me in these words, which I shall never forget, because they first began to open my eyes, and to cure me of my first way of thinking. "Sir, you appear to me to be a little in anger. We live in a time when tranquillity is very difficult to acquire. The wisest amongst us are silent, and patient, in hopes of a better age; and the King is so good, and so wise, that God has destined him to be our restorer."

From that moment, finding no other inconvenience from my wound, than a little difficulty in pronunciation, I began again to ride, and followed by some fifty horse, I made excursions over the great road of Verneuil and Dreux to Paris, in order to resume my former occupation, which I perceived was again likely wholly to ingross me. In the second of these journeys, one day when I was riding towards Dreux, between the villages of Marolles and Goussainville, I met ten or twelve men on foot, who, the moment they saw us, struck into the woods with which that country abounds. I followed them immediately, and made two of them be seized, who had not quitted the great road. These were peasants who were returning from Paris, whither they had been to sell their poultry. I asked them some questions, and they answered me very ingenuously; they told, that it was their custom to travel in the night, to avoid the inconveniences they were exposed to in those roads in the day; but that they had taken courage this once, having nine or ten persons in their company, among whom they said two or three were domestics belonging to Mess. de Mercœur, de Medavy, and de Vieux-Pont.

There needed no more to make me pursue these three men, whose mysterious journey excited my curiosity. It was impossible to overtake them; my people could only seize two others of those that were of Verneuil, from whom finding I could draw nothing by threatenings, I made use of another method. I gave them four crowns, and promised them more, if they would tell me all they knew concerning these three domestics. They desired me to follow them, and led me directly to a large hollow oak, surrounded with thickets, where they told me these servants had stopped, and put some papers which they had about them, into the trunk of this tree: in effect, I found there two tin boxes, and a ticking sack, which seemed to me to be full. I was consoled for the messengers escape; and after satisfying the two men, I returned to Rosny, very impatient to open my packets.

They appeared to be such as I wished. In the first I found commissions from the Duke of Maienne to levy soldiers, several letters written in cyphers, in this general's own hand, to the Duke of Mercœur: but pieces more important soon engaged all my attention; they related to the third party, which was then beginning to be talked of, and among these I found two memorials that seemed to be of the utmost consequence. The first was a memorial of the demands which the President Jeanrin made upon Spain, in the name of the Duke of Maienne, and the second contained the answer given to these conditions by the Archduke Ernest for the King of Spain. All the reflections imaginable could not throw such light upon the Duke of Maienne's designs, the spirit of the league, and the politics of Spain, as the contents of these two pieces: of which it will not be disagreeable to present to the reader an extract.

The Duke of Maienne submitted the league to the Pope, and put it under the King of Spain's protection,

tion, upon the following conditions, which regarded the party in general, as well as himself in particular. First, That the King of Spain should furnish, and maintain in the service of the league, an army of 16,000 foot and 3000 horse; in which army there should be 2000 foot and 500 troopers, all French, of whom he, the Duke of Maienne, was to have the absolute disposal, besides 4000 foot more, and 500 horse, French likewise, who were to continue near his person only, and to be maintained by Spain: That the number of these troops should be augmented as occasion required, but this without stipulation, and only in the way of favour: That the Duke of Maienne should have the chief command of these troops, and those of all the party, with the title of Lieutenant-General of the crown, till a King of France was elected: That this election should be made in a general conference; by which expression they certainly meant the states of the kingdom: That till this election was made and accepted, the pension which Spain already paid to the general should be augmented to as much more, that is, from 30,000 livres a-month to 60,000, besides 100,000 crowns, which he should receive immediately, and 100,000 livres after the ratification of the treaty; in expectation of which, they should begin, by putting him in actual possession of Burgundy: That after the nomination of the future King, the Duke of Maienne should be continued in the government of the state, with the title of Lieutenant-General; and that then, and not before, he should yield up the city of Soissons to the Spaniards, because it was at present the only place of security he had for himself in France: That if he found insurmountable obstacles, either in the election of a future King, probably from the King of Navarre, or in the invasion and keeping of Burgundy for the Duke of Maienne, the King of Spain should make the Duke amends for this loss,
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by an annual pension of 300,000 livres, for the possessions he might lose in France; which pension should never be lessened or taken away, whatever agreement might be made between the King of Spain and the acknowledged King of France, but should pass to his heirs for ever. It was moreover stipulated, that Spain should cancel all the Duke of Maienne's debts, or those of the King elected with the consent of this crown, if he was a native of France: That they should give suitable satisfaction to the other principal officers of the league. They were not expressed, either because the Duke of Maienne was less solicitous about the interests of others than about his own, or that he thought this article would be easily settled, because, if money was wanting, the lords might be satisfied with pensions, dignities, or governments.

Such were the demands of the chief of the league, in which, as we have seen, he was not forgotten. For all this, he offered the King of Spain, (besides the crown, which, although he was not mentioned, could only be designed for a prince of the house of Austria, since the Duke of Maienne seemed to exclude himself), he offered, I say, a certain number of towns, for whose names, as well as that of the future King, blanks were left; those that Spain might take being to be restored to the French Catholics, under the protection of the King of Spain and the Duke of Maienne. All was calculated for the security and caution of Spain, till the election of a King, without any further explanation; which proves also, that they thought this election would sufficiently indemnify this crown; at least that they wanted, by this favourable insinuation, to flatter it with hopes, in order to procure an immediate and effectual assistance. What gave rise to this suspicion was, their care in insisting upon, and often resuming the following clause: That
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till all these articles were agreed to at Madrid, for which they allowed the space of a month, Spain should first begin by sending a powerful supply into Burgundy, which they said was in very great danger. The more to hasten the resolutions of this court, the Duke of Maienne, who throughout the whole treaty shewed himself to be a faithful servant (although a little interested) of the house of Austria, assured them coldly, that if these conditions were not thought advantageous enough for Spain, she might turn to another side than his, and that weary of bearing this burden, he requested nothing better than to be discharged.

But this was only a feint; he had to do with a council who would not so easily change, and who understood their interest still better. To this memorial the Archduke Ernest answered, in the name of the King of Spain, That his Majesty was well pleased with the title of *Defender of the league*, and wished to be regarded as the chief of the party: That they should find him always ready to grant them whatever supplies they demanded against the King of Navarre, and even more than they demanded; for he consented to send into Picardy alone the 19,000 men formerly mentioned, (it is easy to see with what design, for this province bounded the Low Countries), besides those which he offered to send into different parts of the kingdom. He did not seem to be so much alarmed on account of Burgundy as the Duke of Maienne, probably because the council of Spain discovered that this general, who had demanded the possession of the province, would be glad that the troops should be all employed there. Upon this article, he only granted wherewithal to raise 1000 German foot, and to maintain 300 horse. He added, however, that if the whole force of the war was turned against this province, his Catholic Majesty would

would not refuse to send considerable troops thither; and, doubtless, in this he meant to keep his word.

As to what regarded Maïenne in particular, his Catholic Majesty appeared much less liberal. Of all the articles this was the most reduced. He would make no addition to the pension of 30,000 livres a-month; and would grant him only for himself 2000 foot and 500 troopers, and that no longer than he was in the army in person. Upon the other articles he was perfectly silent. With regard to those places which might be seized, Spain consented that the Duke of Maïenne should keep what might be taken, provided she was allowed to do the same. She would not desist from her demand of Soissons, and was absolutely resolved to have this city for a security for those advances she made in this war; she promised only to resign it after the election of the King: this nomination appeared still doubtful to Spain, who gave them to understand, that if she was satisfied with it, every thing might be expected from her gratitude, but beforehand she would risk nothing. For this purpose, all the other articles were left unanswered, and a new one was added; which was, that the Duke of Maïenne should remove certain persons from about him, who, doubtless, did not support the interests of Spain with the French general; their names were not written; but it was said, that they had been signified by word of mouth to the agent of the treaty. Such were his Catholic Majesty's dispositions, who, by attending only to his own interests, and resolving to sell his assistance very dear, followed exactly the Duke of Maïenne's example, and thought greatly more of it than of him.

Upon reading these papers, all my resentment was extinguished; and thinking them of great importance to the King, I hastened instantly to Compeigne.

peigne. I found time and absence had not altered the sentiments of Henry with regard to me. I had half an hour's private conversation with this prince, to whom I related in general the occasion of my journey. The reading of these papers was put off till the evening of that day, when, all the courtiers being retired, I was introduced into the King's apartment, and remained there shut up with his Majesty, who sent for Beringhen and Choirin, to decypher the greatest part of the papers. We learned of whom the third party was composed, which as yet had been only mentioned in whispers. It was formed in the midst of the court, under the auspices and upon the plan of the Abbé de Belloczanne, the two Durets, and I believe the Abbé du Perron; all of them creatures of the Count of Soissons and of the Cardinal of Bourbon, and particularly attached to the last. In all appearance, these persons were the authors, and at first the only promoters, of this faction; but it was afterwards joined by Mess. de Nevers, de Longueville, de Villeroi, d'O, and the rest of those Catholics who were in the court, who valued themselves upon being too good Frenchmen to suffer the Spanish dominion, and too zealous for the Roman religion to consent to have a Protestant king. The Count of Soissons some time after joined these gentlemen; and it was reported, that, inconstant to his former mistress, he was several times upon the point of marrying Mademoiselle de Longueville. They had assumed the name of politicians, to distinguish themselves from the royalists and leaguers, and to shew that they regarded the good of the state, and the preservation of the rights of the crown beyond every other consideration. Their principal view was alike to exclude every foreign prince, the Duke of Mayenne, and the King of Navarre, from the throne. The bulk of the party knew no more: but the chiefs,

chiefs, who were masters of the secret, thought of nothing but getting rid of the two last by the sword or by poison*; after which they might, without any difficulty, make the Cardinal of Bourbon King, and, not to discontent Spain altogether, obtain a dispensation for him to marry the Infanta.

When this project is compared with that of Jeannin, it is matter of surprise, that papers which contained such contrary schemes should be found in the same packet. Without seeking for the reason of it in the secrets of providence, which by presenting the King, at one and the same time, with all the plots that were formed against his person, seemed to point out to him the measures necessary to prevent them; it is my opinion, that it may be found in the different interests of all those persons, who corresponding together, and some from a great distance, such as the Duke of Mercœur, without any other common motive than the hatred they bore to the King, hatched a thousand chimerical designs, and delivered themselves up to those hints which darted into their minds, without any other fixed and determined object than that of excluding the King of Navarre. In this confusion of sentiments, it is not astonishing, that he should, by the same means, meet with such opposite machinations.

I continued three days at Compeigne, often in conference with the King, who appeared to be sensibly affected with the designed attempts against his person, because he had flattered himself, that his conduct ought to have suppressed such thoughts. He sent me to Mante, perceiving that my endeavours to speak in those conversations might open my wounds. I received from this good prince all the marks of a tender and unbounded confidence.

* This accusation is to be met with in no other writer, and is of the number of those which the author ought not to have asserted without giving likewise a proof.

At parting, he desired me to observe carefully every motion of his enemies, and to prepare myself to give him good advice upon his arrival at Mante; for he intended, he said, to regulate his behaviour in so difficult a conjuncture wholly by my directions. He staid no longer in Picardy than was necessary to make some proper dispositions there, and set out for Mante. This city he preferred to any other, because, by its situation, it seemed to him the most proper residence to discover and overthrow the different cabals of his adversaries, at a time when the intrigues of the cabinet were likely to succeed to the operations of war. His council was already there, and he had caused the Princess, his sister, to be conducted thither. After the discovery this prince had just made of the plots that were laid against his life, it had been extreme imprudence to have neglected any precautions necessary for his security. He doubled his guards; he placed in Limay, which is the suburb of Mante, a body of English troops, whose affection to him was unquestionable, and resolved to hold all the world suspected, since he was convinced, that those persons whom he had admitted to his councils, to his table, and to his pleasures, were capable of forming the most violent resolutions against him.

If of all the favours that a prince, as estimable for the qualities of his mind as for his great actions, could grant, the sentiments of his heart are those which most affect a man of honour; I owe a great deal to this prince, who honoured me in particular with his confidence, at a time when infidelity, darkness, treachery, and all that interest could suggest to subjects who had exalted this idol into the place of love to their King, had left him no other part to take than that of reserve and general distrust. I have something yet further to say, (for why should I omit that part of all my life which seems most

likely to procure me the esteem of persons truly virtuous ?) It is, that in a conjuncture so delicate, this prince was resolved to abandon himself wholly to my direction, and to confide to me his destiny and his crown * : for without me he undertook not the smallest affair ; persuaded, doubtless, that the advice of a man actuated by a sincere attachment, and (if I may use the expression) a true friendship, ought to be preferred to penetration and ability, when they are joined with a doubtful fidelity. No-

* If we may believe De Thou, Gaspard Schomberg, Count of Nanteuil, Lewis de Revol, Secretary of State, and himself, had a great hand in determining Henry IV. to change his religion. There is no historian who specifies any particular man, as having struck this bold stroke : they do not even seem to have dreamed of M. de Sully in this affair ; which however does not invalidate the truth of what is asserted in this part of his Memoirs, that it is chiefly, and even in some manner wholly to him, the honour of it is due. Tacitus tells us, that Augustus, after having deprived one of his chief ministers entirely of his favour, permitted him still to have the appearance of enjoying it. With regard to the Duke of Sully, it was quite the contrary ; for he already was in absolute possession of his master's favour, while no one suspected it. And that which is most remarkable in their history is, that a long time after this minister's favour with the King was known, by his being in possession of the first employments in the kingdom, even until his master's death, in public the King behaved to him with the utmost circumspection ; while in private, never were familiarity and confidence carried further between a King and his subject. Hence it was, that in some histories of Henry the Great, the author of which, without penetrating into the secrets of the cabinet, contented themselves with representing only the public face of affairs, the name of *Rosny* is never mentioned, and that of *Sully*, so well known to writers better informed, very seldom, considering the part Sully played during the ten or twelve years of this prince's life. Incomprehensible as this reserved and mysterious conduct appears, those who reflect upon the situation of affairs in those times, together with the religion of the Duke of Sully, will comprehend, without any difficulty, the necessity the King and his minister were under, to observe this conduct, and never to depart from it. Nor is this one of the least instances of the prudence and abilities of these two great men. I thought it necessary to make this observation once for all. "*Rosny*," says Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 278. " had a long time a share in the King's most important affairs ; and " from the time of Henry III. was one of his most intimate confidants," &c.

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thing ever gave me so pure and noble a delight as the honour of such a distinction: but after having wholly resigned myself to it for some moments, I perceived the weight of that burden I was loaded with, and trembled amidst my joy, lest my weakness and incapacity should engage me in some false step that might prejudice, not me, (for on those occasions self, I believe, is least in one's thoughts), but the prince who reposed himself upon me.

From this moment, all those precautions the King made use of for his person, I also observed in the advice I was going to give him. I prepared myself for it by the deepest reflections on the state of the neighbouring kingdoms in general, and on that of France, of the parties into which it was divided, and of the King, in particular. I considered, that if, in such employments as mine, one cannot commit faults, even innocently, without deserving some reproaches, we draw those reproaches upon ourselves, when we act according to the dictates of passion. This reflection led me to study thoroughly my own disposition and inclinations, and convinced me of the necessity of beginning with obliging my own heart to subdue and forget itself. A serious review of my past conduct shewed me the injustice of those complaints which I suffered frequently to escape me against the King's behaviour to me and the rest of the Protestants. I searched into the ground of it, and I soon found it in that common prejudice, that to be worthy of the religion one professes, cruelty, perjury, and deceit ought to pass for nothing, provided one can secure its success. I suppressed these sentiments, equally injurious to the author of religion, and prejudicial to the religion that is promoted by such unworthy means: and when I declare, that there was nothing I more distrusted than those snares which the zeal

of religion might lay for me, I shall be easily believed, if the advice I gave the King be considered.

When I was thus certain of myself, I the less feared to carry my views into that impenetrable chaos of different interests, and to sound a futurity, which offered, on every side, nothing but frightful precipices. Must the miseries of France be perpetuated, by giving arms, perhaps for more than an age, to two parties in religion, then nearly equal? Must a prince, who so well deserved to be happy, consume his whole life amidst the horrors of a war, which till then had not given him a moment to breathe; and (if I determined upon this) prepared for him labours infinitely greater than all he had yet endured? On the other hand, ought I to expose the whole body of Protestants in France, who sought only justice and peace, to be victims of human policy, and at the mercy of their most cruel enemies? While uncertain of the event of the war, and of the moment when the King might be suddenly taken off, ought I to bring things to such an extremity, that France might, perhaps, become a prey to Spain, and to all her neighbours, or, dismembered by a thousand tyrants, lose in one moment the glory of her name, the splendor of her monarchy, and the succession of her Kings? What perils in war? What snares in peace? What subjects of fear on all sides? How form a resolution, alarmed by so many dangers almost inevitable?

But the greatest of all was the not fixing upon any. At last, when all was thoroughly examined, it seemed necessary to prefer that which would put an end to the civil war, restore tranquillity to France, submit it to a good King, and put it in a condition to take vengeance on its foreign enemies: I mean that resolution which might the most effectually remove the present inconveniencies, and procure time to bring a remedy for those which were to be apprehended.

prehended. In one word, I resolved to prevail upon the King to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, and to persuade him to it by degrees. I was sensible, that by this means I should give disgust to two sorts of persons, the Protestant neighbours of France, and the French Calvinists. But as to the first, France, when united with itself, had no occasion for any foreign assistance; and it was easy to give the second such advantages, as would make them behold this change without murmuring. With regard to both, I depended upon that gratitude which a prince like Henry could not fail of having for persons to whom he had the most essential obligations.

These reflections wholly employed my mind from the moment I left Compeigne, and I was still absorbed in them when the King arrived at Mante. The first thing he did, was to send for me to come to him, with the usual precautions. Jaquinot conducted me into his chamber before day, and we immediately entered upon our subject. Henry, who on his side had made a thousand reflections on the perplexing situation he was in, began by drawing a very natural representation of it; irreconcilable interest in the princes and nobility of the kingdom; hatred amongst themselves, and against him; mutiny and disobedience in all minds; inactivity in the foreign allies; intrigues and animosity on the part of the enemies; treachery within; violence without; rocks and precipices on all sides. The end of this pathetic discourse was to demand what remedy I knew to all this.

I replied, that, without taking upon me to give his Majesty advice, I saw simply three ways to take, and he might determine upon which he pleased. The first was, to satisfy all at his own expence, or rather at the expence of the state; the second was, to satisfy none, but to endeavour to carry all with a

high hand; the third, which held a medium between these two, was, to remove all obstacles that opposed his accession to the crown, by turning Roman Catholic. The King then told me, that what I had said to him was nothing but an advice, and commanded me to tell him plainly, what I would do if I were in his place. I endeavoured to make him understand that, by resuming one after another the three different methods I had laid before him. I made him see, that, by following the first, he reduced himself to nothing, and that if there was a necessity to gratify wholly the avidity of Spain and the French leaguers, he would scarce, out of so great a kingdom, keep a few provinces for himself. As to the second, I represented to him, that as soon as he should give occasion to believe, that he depended only upon the claim his birth gave him to the crown, the desertion of all the Catholics, and the unbridled fury of a whole nation of enemies, both within and without the kingdom, would draw upon him a terrible storm. The inconstancy of fortune, and the usual reverses of war, although this prince had not yet experienced them, found their place in this reflection. I did not enlarge upon the third, but only told the King, that being a Protestant myself, I could say nothing to him upon this subject.

As I was speaking, I perceived the perplexity into which the present conjuncture had thrown the King, to increase every moment. I did not doubt, but the review of all these difficulties would bring him to the point I desired. I was sure that he would not even think of the first of my proposals. I knew him too well to believe him capable of agreeing to an accommodation which would leave him only the semblance of King, a subject or dependent upon Spain, or reduced at last to a small part of France. It was the two others only that imbar-
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raised him. On one side, he said, by continuing in his religion, he saw united against him all the princes of his blood, the nobility of the kingdom, and those who were at the head of all affairs and the finances, such as Mess. d'Epemon, de Nevers, de Longueville, de Biron, d'O, de Rieux, de Villeroy, de Manou, de Châteauneux, de Vitry, d'Entraignes, and de Sourdis. It would be too tedious to mention them all. He saw them ready to resolve upon forming against him a party independent of the league, or, what was most probable, and likewise most dangerous, ready to unite themselves with the league, and to concert together measures for obstructing all the avenues to the throne. On the other, he objected the complaints of the Dukes of Bouillon and la Trémouille, and the outcries of so many Protestants whom he was going to abandon; those who were so dear to him, and from whom he had so long drawn his only assistance. He represented them as passing from discontent to a resolution which despair at being sacrificed by an ungrateful prince would inspire, which was to elect a chief, canton themselves out in France, and oblige him to turn his arms against them. He ended with these words: "I can never use them ill, nor declare war against them; I will always love them." This sentiment, which discovered a sensibility and gratitude so seldom to be found in the hearts of sovereigns, moved me extremely. I thanked him, in the name of all the Protestants, by bending upon one knee, and kissing his hand. The reasons with which this prince opposed his change of religion, and the manner in which he delivered them, were what alone dissipated my apprehensions, and confirmed me in the opinion, that no other remedy could be found to the present evils. I told him, that Mess. de Bouillon and de la Trémouille, and all of merit and distinction in the Calvinist party, would

would not be so unreasonable as to take arms against him, for a resolution which mere necessity had forced him to embrace, when he continued to treat them with all the regards due to their persons and services. After explaining all my thoughts on this subject to the King, I added, that the foundation of all religions which believe in Jesus Christ being essentially the same; that is, faith in the same mysteries, and the same belief of the Divinity, it seemed to me, that one who from a Catholic became a Protestant, or from a Protestant became a Catholic, did not change his religion, but followed, for the interest of religion itself*, that practice in which policy alone had made them to differ. But although I might be mistaken in this notion, it was always incontestable, that the embracing the Catholic religion did not include the necessity of persecuting all others; on the contrary, that God perhaps disposed the King to this change, to give a new example to Europe, and one more worthy of religion itself: That the difference of religions had long enough occasioned the most tragical scenes in France, and proved a source of disorders and calamities, by the aversion with which it inspired people against

* Add to these words of the Duke of Sully what he says some pages before, and what has been observed a little higher, where he speaks of the duty and authority of kings in religious matters; it may be determined that he was a moderate Calvinist, and considered all religions as indifferent which agreed in the fundamental articles. It is thus that the author of the MS. which I have quoted in the preface of this work, speaks of it; and it is even the chief reason which he makes use of to justify the Duke of Sully, for having given to Henry IV. such advice, as, without this, would have but ill agreed with the laws of conscience and natural rectitude. "It being his opinion," says he, speaking of the Duke of Sully, "that the King might as easily work out his salvation in our religion as in his own, he offered no great violence to his conscience, in persuading him to this change; on the contrary, it was effectually serving the state, nay, Christianity itself, without hurting his reputation." Happily, Henry the Great did not adopt the neutral opinions of his minister, as he himself acknowledges very sincerely.

those of a contrary faith from their own, which was equally the case with the Protestants as well as Catholics : That he might remedy this dangerous evil, by uniting those who professed the two religions in the bands of friendship and Christian charity ; or, if this was impossible, prescribe to them rules so just, as might make both parties be contented with what should be granted them. I softened this prince by the single thought of immortalizing his memory, in re-establishing in a desolate kingdom, peace, abundance and security, and of meriting, by the use of those abilities he had received from heaven, the glory of giving happiness to France, after she had begun to despair of it, and to look upon her wounds as incurable. I am certain, that this motive was more interesting than that of his own quiet ; which, however, I did not forget ; and I obliged Henry tacitly to confess, that his spirits, after being exhausted, if I may use that term, with war, demanded a situation less turbulent, and more tranquil.

The strongest proof that I pleaded upon this occasion for reason and justice, was, that the King, who possessed that happy sagacity of distinguishing immediately the truth or falsehood of any position, confessed to me that my discourse had penetrated to the bottom of his heart : he added, that he would reflect upon it more thoroughly, but that he believed he should follow no other advice. In effect, at the end of three days he had taken his resolution, and he now only endeavoured to remove the difficulties which remained. Some of these regarded himself ; for as sincerity and rectitude were rooted in his heart, and regulated all his words and actions, I am persuaded, that there is not any thing which could have prevailed upon him to embrace a religion which he internally despised, or even but doubted

doubted of. A prince who had never deceived man, was far from intending to deceive God.

The other difficulties related to the leaders of the Protestant party, whom the bare proposition of changing his religion would not fail to make revolt, as well through fear, as through a point of honour. He assembled them, and addressing himself to the most distinguished amongst them, which were Mess. de Bouillon, de Sancy, du Plessis, de Salignac, de Morlas, de Constans, and Salettes *; I also being present. He told them, (with an intention to sound their inclinations), that he had brought them together to know their sentiments upon what he had to communicate to them. He said he had received certain advices, that Bellozanne and the two Durets, agents for the third party, had had an interview with Villeroy and Jeannin †, and that it was agreed upon to unite all the forces of the league and the other Catholics against him; that the time which the Catholics had so often threatened him with was now come, for they were going to abandon him unanimously; their common design being now to place the Cardinal of Bourbon upon the throne, to marry him to the Infanta of Spain, and to endeavour, by all possible methods, to rid themselves of his person. That the Cardinal, indeed, had expressed great reluctance to this last proposition, but, by all appearances, they would soon gain his consent, when they convinced him, that the crown could by no

* — Salettes was president of the parliament of Pau, and counsellor of state at Navarre. Morlas, his natural son, was member of the privy council, counsellor of state, and superintendant of the magazines of France. They were both converted. Henry IV. when he was informed of the death of Morlas, who was a man of great merit, said, "I have lost one of the wisest men in my kingdom." *Chron. Noven. book 7. p. 545.*

† See Matth. vol. 2. p. 66. &c. *Chron. Noven. l. 2. De Thou, Mem. de Nevers, Mem. de Villeroy, &c.*

other means be secured to him. He conjured them to tell him, sincerely, what they thought he had to do upon this occasion, particularly upon the desertion of the Catholics, which would reduce his party to the last extremity.

By the noise and confusion this declaration created in the assembly, it well appeared that all those who composed it, without any forecast or management, without any settled point, and even without any sincere attachment to the King, had till then thought only of living from day to day; of gaining time, and profiting by their master's abilities for war. They could never agree, nor form any connected resolution. They did not know whether to wish for peace, or continue the war. One said, that there was nothing for it but to resume their arms, and risk all at one cast. Another imagined, that by arresting eight or ten of the principal Catholics, who were not yet upon their guard, particularly the authors of the plot, it might be rendered abortive. Others, more moderate, or perhaps more irresolute, contented themselves with saying, that it would be necessary to accommodate matters by negotiations, without being able to tell how. I seized this overture, and by digesting it to somewhat reasonable, I carried all the votes for a negotiation. It was known that I had some influence over the Count of Soissons, and that I had free access to the Cardinal of Bourbon. This cardinal often said in public, that although I was a Huguenot, there was no person for whom he felt so strong an inclination as for me. I offered to use my mediation with these two princes, to prevail upon them not to listen to the persuasions of the King's enemies; and the better to insure success, I promised I would endeavour to gain their creatures and their counsellors, especially the Abbot de Belloczanne, the Durets, confidants to the Count of Soissons,

Soissons, and a lady called *Madam des Rosiers*, an intimate friend of the Cardinal's.

No person contradicted this opinion, doubtless because the Protestants, who had heard the declaration, sensible that they were too weak actually to renew hostilities, thought that at present there was nothing better to be done. The King, on his side, was not sorry at its being unanimously voted by the Protestants, that he should address himself to the princes of the blood, and hold a commerce with the Catholics of the league. According to my plan, I began with the Abbé de Bellozanne. I knew jealousy had made him the secret enemy of the Durets, and believed that by taking him on this side, confirming him in his hatred, and flattering him with having shortly the chief hand in all affairs, I should reach my end. I introduced myself with telling him, that I was come to thank him, in the name of the King, for having in his favour so generously opposed the enterprises of the Durets; which could only proceed from the rectitude of his heart, and his good-will towards the King, which his Majesty, although he had but a small acquaintance with him, esteemed as he ought, till he should be in a state to give him more sensible proofs of his affection, which he would certainly do, by procuring him a cardinal's hat, or, at least, one of the richest benefices in the kingdom, when those favours were in his power, by the change of his religion, which was likely to happen very shortly.

This introduction, which flattered the vanity of the man extremely, gave me occasion to enter, as if undesignedly, into the secret proceedings of the Durets, which I pretended to be very positively informed of, in order to learn them from him, and to engage him to oppose them yet more resolutely. In effect, I had scarce dropped a few words on this subject, when my man, giving way to his inclinations,

nations, fell upon the Durets, and spoke so much to their disadvantage, that I fell into the other extreme, and believed that he was induced by his hatred of them to accuse them falsely. The hint of the cardinal's hat and the bishopric producing its effect, Bellozanne pretended to feel that zeal for the King's service, which I attributed to him from pure fiction. It was not his fault, that I was not persuaded, that he had opposed all the violent resolutions of the Catholics, whose intrigues and views he informed me of. I flattered myself for some time, that I had brought over this man to the King; but rogues soon resume their natural character. Immediately after he had made this protestation to me, he made one quite contrary to the Cardinal of Bourbon, and afterwards to Villeroy and Jeannin, to whom he repeated from one end to the other all the conversation he had just held with me. If he drew advantage from his treachery, by the new degree of favour it procured him, I, on my side, perhaps, made better use of it for the King, than if he had kept the secret. Moreover, I had hereby found means to inform those gentlemen of the King's coming disposition to embrace their religion, which drew them internally towards this prince, but especially the Cardinal, who was more enamoured of religion than of a crown. Bellozanne's imprudence likewise produced another effect, which was the inspiring them with a desire of supplanting each other, in their endeavours to acquire the good graces of the King. I heartily therefore pardoned Bellozanne's double dealing, and even drew a third good consequence from it, with regard to the Durets.

These gentlemen perceiving the honour Bellozanne had gained by the new secrets he had disclosed to his patrons, and the increase of favour they had procured him, were the more ready to hear the propositions I went afterwards to make them.

I told them, the King, offended at the knavery of Bellozanne, (which in reality he was, because he had carried it so far as to give umbrage to the Protestants), would have no commerce for the future with a man so faithless, and was disposed to make use of them in his future measures. I confided some papers to their care, the reading of which I was certain would have a marvellous effect. It was the project of accommodation between the league and Spain, and the answer in consequence of it, which they had no knowledge of, and which I shewed to them that moment. This stroke piqued them; they thought themselves despised, and the project so reasonable as to fear it might be executed, and affairs brought to a conclusion without their contributing any thing to it; which to these sort of men is the most mortifying consideration. They hesitated not a moment in offering me with ardor their services for the King. The change of religion, which I had also insinuated to them, seemed to remove all the opposition that could be made to this prince. They were ravished with being intermeddlers in a project, the invention of which appeared to them more happy than that which the Duke of Maienne had proposed to Spain; or rather, there remained no other part for them to take, after the victory Bellozanne had just gained over them. In effect, they kept the secret better, and laboured in it usefully enough.

I applied myself afterwards to the Abbé du Peron, who, by his character, his reputation, and his eloquence, had more power with the Cardinal of Bourbon, when he aimed at making him either take or quit a resolution, than all the artifices of Bellozanne and the Durets. We had been acquainted a long time, and he had some obligation to me. I concerted my discourse, as having to do with a man for whom eloquence, grand sentiments, and deep

deep reasoning, had powerful charms*; and I introduced into it as much or more of politics and worldly views, as of religion. My brother, the governor of Mante, was present at this conversation, when, after having thrown out my ordinary insinuations about the King's future abjuration, I undertook to prove to Du-Perron, that, except Spain, and some turbulent persons in France, it was the interest and advantage, not only of France, but of all Europe, that the King of Navarre should ascend the throne, and possess the kingdom in the same extent, and with the same power, which had been enjoyed by the Kings his predecessors.

I began with the Pope. I told Du-Perron, that he who had so perfect a knowledge of the court of Rome, knew better than any person, that Clement VIII. now in possession of the holy see, was neither so violent as Sixtus V. nor so changeable as Gregory XIV. That this Pope considered the present affairs of Europe and Christianity in a clear and impartial view. That it was not his intention, by breaking the necessary balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, to subject France to Spain; because he was not ignorant of any of the views of this last power for universal monarchy. That the Pope would in this find not only his interest, as common father of the Catholics, but also his temporal interests in particular; because Italy and the patrimony of St Peter would soon follow the destiny of France, and the other kingdoms; and the Pope would be in danger of seeing himself one day reduced to the quality of simple chaplain to the Kings of Spain. That besides, his Holiness had too much judgment not to open his arms to a King, as soon

* The Duke of Sully's judgment of the Cardinal du Perron seems more conformable to truth, than that given him by Joseph Scaliger, who treats him only as a babler, *locutuleius*, or *locutu levis*.

as he should express his desire to be received there, without troubling himself about that mighty phrase a relapse, with which fools only were affected.

I had still less difficulty to support my proposition, with regard to the other crowned heads of Europe; I therefore did not dwell long upon them, that I might turn all the conversation upon Spain. I asked the Abbé du Perron, if he did not agree with me in the opinion, that those deep politicians who gave rise to all the disorders in France, began to despair of the success of the great project they had formed to conquer all France, and this upon the knowledge they had, as well of the King and the Protestants in his interest, as of the French Catholics? Could the King of Spain ever seriously intend to make a Spanish province of France, and flatter himself that his domination would be endured by a people who had always emulated and hated Spain? Of all this there was already more than mere suspicion.

By the King of Spain's conduct it was visible, that he imagined the Dukes of Maienne, Guise, and Mercœur, sought only to make him their dupe; nor had he a more favourable opinion of the Dukes of Savoy and Lorraine, whom he saw make use of his troops and money without shewing any greater respect for him. One convincing proof that these were the real sentiments of Philip was, the propositions he had made, and often renewed, to the King of Navarre, by D. Bernardin de Mandoce, Moreau, and the Count de Taxis. For, in reality, this Prince seeing that all he could pretend to from the troubles in France was, at the most, the possession of two or three of its provinces, it was of little consequence to him, whether he obtained them from the King or from the league. It is true, that if he divided France amongst the chiefs of the league, he gained hopes of one day getting
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it all to himself, by separately attacking those petty kings; but that, in effect, he purchased these hopes at a very high price, by that scarcity of troops and money into which the avidity of the league had thrown him. And although the King should be able to maintain the war but a short time, Philip perceived that he might be obliged to recall the supplies he lent to France, having but sufficient for himself in Flanders, where the war was kindling more and more every day.

Observing that Du-Perron listened to me attentively, and seemed to be inwardly convinced of the reasonableness of all I said, I did not so soon quit the Subject of Spain. I told him it was not probable, that so many brave men, fond of their liberty, their laws, and customs, would ever be easy under a foreign slavery, and resolve to bear away no other reward for their gallant actions, than the honour of being dependents upon the grandees of Spain, or at best pensionaries of a King, who, although he had greater obligations to the Prince of Parma than to any other person, suffered him to wait for the recompence of his services till his death: That the whole view of the French lords, by seeming to join the King of Spain, was only to procure the grant of greater rewards from Henry, while he continued in the profession of the Protestant religion; after which they would abandon, without difficulty, that hackneyed reproach of a relapse, as well as the design of chusing a King from amongst themselves, the marriage of the Infanta, and all the rest of their vague projects. For a proof of the truth of what I said, I produced the treaty which the league had proposed to Henry by Villeroy and Jeannin, soon after the raising of the siege of Rouen, which I could not give a full account of in its place, but shall lay before the reader in a moment. After this, turning with vivacity to Du-

Perron, I asked him if he was not of the Interest of all good Frenchmen, and of himself first of all to prevent such designs from being accomplished, whether the good of the state required, that by destroying in a moment an edifice which had cost the Kings of France such labour to raise, and which some of them had cemented with their blood, France should be again filled with those little tyrants, ambitious and cruel, who claimed a right of giving law to their prince, and who were always ready to fly before the first enemies that attacked them? And lastly, if he did not confess that a monarchical government, by which all the members are united, and under the direction of one only chief, was the most glorious and most advantageous of any, and for the French nation in particular?

I cut short my discourse upon this third party of politicians, by observing to Du-Perron, that one of these two things must necessarily happen, either that they would unite themselves to the league, and so deprive it of all assistance from Spain; or take measures separately from it, which would produce the necessity of destroying it, or of being destroyed by it. In any of these cases, nothing could happen that would not be for the King's advantage. To conclude with what related to the person of the King himself, I found no difficulty in making the Abbé confess, that this prince was absolutely fitted to reign over the French. I represented to him, that his reputation was so well established every where, that the league had great reason to fear, and the third party (so far from being creditable) still more, that in the provinces, where no one delivered himself up so blindly to the caprices of the league as in Paris, they would put themselves entirely under the protection of this prince, when their intoxication was over, and had given place
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to that love of repose so natural to those who have suffered. That the provinces began already to testify openly their discontent. But without all this could not the King, brave and experienced as he was, and assisted only by the Protestants and foreigners, maintain the war a long time, and guard against domestic attempts upon his person? They had seen him when he had not ten cities in his party, and with only a handful of men, make a stand against all the forces of the kingdom. I concluded with saying, that instead of giving the enemies of France the pleasure of seeing her waste and destroy herself, it was the general interest, to favour and support a prince, who appeared capable of restoring her to her former tranquillity, and of raising her to a new degree of splendor.

The Abbé du Perron had no reply to make to all these reasons, he was convinced of their force; and, as I had expected, knew well how to bring over the Cardinal of Bourbon to his opinion, by adding to them all those which his own penetration suggested to him, and which he did not fail to adorn with all the brilliant apparel of eloquence. The remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next were employed on his part and on mine in going backwards and forwards, and in conferences of this kind. As soon as a negotiation was begun, we had more negotiators than we wished.

It was true, that Villeroy and Jeannin had a long time before presented the King with a project of a treaty, in the name of the league, by which they offered, upon certain conditions, to acknowledge him for King. This piece is curious enough to deserve an abstract to be given of it. The true spirit which animated the league, clearly manifests itself in it. The King's abjuration was at the head, as the first and principal condition. They required that in the space of three months he should

should make a public profession of the Catholic religion ; that he should restore it in all those places from whence the superiority of the Reformed had banished it ; that he should break off all alliance with them ; that they should have no share in the dignities, embassies, and employments of state of any kind whatever ; in a word, that their continuance in France should be tolerated only, and for a certain time, which might be prolonged as exigency required.

Many other articles seemed to be inserted there only to persuade the people that the chiefs of the league, by treating with Henry, had nothing but the service of religion and the state in view. Such was the clause of naming to benefices, conformable to the canons ; and that of holding the states from six to six years ; and many others.

These were all specious conditions ; but they added, (which was the most essential point for the authors of the project), That the King should acknowledge, authorise, and support the league with all his power : That he should leave a certain number of towns in their hands, into which he could not even put garrisons ; that is to say, that he should reign under them : That he should distribute all the governments of France amongst such of his principal officers as they should name to him : That he should keep a sufficient number of troops in each of these governments, to maintain the Roman-Catholic religion there : That he should not dispose of the taxes, imposts, and other revenues of the crown ; but they should be all applied to this use, according to a division proportioned to the quality and occasions of those governments : That all the garrisons which should be put in the fortresses of the kingdom, should be paid in the same manner. The destination of these governments was as follows ; Provence was to be given to
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the Duke of Nemours, Languedoc to the Duke of Joyeuse, Bourbonnois and Marche to the Duke of Elbeuf, Bretagne to the Duke of Mercœur, the two Vexins, with the title of governor, to d'Alincourt, part of Normandy to Villars, the Isle of France to the Baron of Rosne, Orleannois and Berry to La Châtre, Picardy to the Duke of Aumale, Champagne to the Duke of Guise, with the post of high steward, and all the dignities and benefices which his family had enjoyed.

The Duke of Maïenne had, with reason, the largest share. To the government of Burgundy, which was allotted for him, they added those of Lyonnois, Forêt, and Beaujolois; and in all these provinces gave him a power that had annihilated that of the King; the right of disposing, as he pleased, of governments, lord lieutenancies, and other employments, not only in the army, but also in the finances, and courts of judicature; and what was still more, the nomination to ecclesiastical dignities and benefices: and to crown all these extraordinary advantages, they added the post of constable, or lieutenant general of the crown. It was this only that seemed worthy of the Duke of Maïenne's acceptance. They likewise kept in reserve four *marechals batons**, and the league, at their own leisure, were to name the persons on whom they were to be bestowed; besides very considerable pensions to the most distinguished amongst them, they carried their excess so far as to prescribe to the King the clearing the debts of some considerable persons of their party whom they

* These four *marechals batons* were given the following year to Rosne, La-Châtre, Bois-Dauphin, and Saint-Pol, each of whom will be mentioned hereafter. On this occasion there is a *bon-mot* related of Chanvalon. "Sir," said he one day to the Duke of Maïenne, "you have made some bastards, which will be legitimated at your expence."

should

should name, to the number of twenty. And, to conclude, with absolutely tying up his hands, they added, that he should allow the league to chuse the foreign princes that were to accede to the treaty, and to be guarantees for its execution. The Pope's name only was expressed; doubtless, the blanks were to be filled up with the King of Spain among others. By this they too plainly acknowledged the views of the Spaniards. Charles V. required nothing else than such a scheme, when he said that he had been falsely accused of hating a King of France, since instead of one he wished there had been twenty.

No person believed that the league, by treating with the King on conditions so injurious to this prince, could persuade themselves that he would submit to them. It is probable therefore, that they did it in order to make his refusal give disgust to the dregs of the populace. The King likewise, far from treating these proposals as a serious matter, or answering them privately, as he would have done had he thought it possible to have come to any accommodation, sacrificed them immediately to the protestants, who gave to the piece all the qualifications that it merited; it even turned the Catholics against the author; for these Catholics finding that all there was badly arranged; that it was full of articles which, being only snares, would prove an inexhaustible source of difficulties; and that there were some which it was absolutely impossible to execute, they took no notice of what made the strongest impressions upon them, which was, that, by the distribution of favours and rewards, nothing remained for them.

The King made no other use of these proposals than to bind those who served him more closely to his interests, gave a very short and a very dry answer to the President Jeannin. It was at the camp
before

before Caudebec. There is no necessity to repeat the contents.

Civil wars, especially those wherein religion has a share, give an air of licence and affrontery which on all other occasions would be surprising. Jeannin, offended at the ridicule with which his project had been treated, answered in writing, which he addressed to the King himself, That he was greatly astonished at the tone that he had taken with him : That if his project was well examined, he would find that he had not yet treated well enough for the league : That the only fear he had when he drew it up was, that it would be disavowed, especially by the Duke of Nemours, who, instead of a government, had already formed a principality for himself in Lionnois, with the approbation of the King of Spain ; and still more by the Duke of Maienne, whose interests had been also too much neglected in it ; (certainly this moderation of Jeannin's was truly admirable) : That, in his opinion, he had shewn the King his readiness to serve him, by not mentioning his giving the league any towns as a security for the performance of his word, (as if those which were to be bestowed upon the governors did not answer the same purpose) : That, to please the King, he had eluded the question, of making these governments hereditary. This indeed was true ; but after all the other rights with which he had invested them, would it be difficult for them to accomplish this for themselves ?

Jeannin afterwards observed to the King, with a liberty that might well be called immoderate impudence, that the Catholics having with justice taken arms against him, he ought not to make use of the words *crime* and *abolition* with them ; for they were intitled to treat with him upon the foot of an equal, because they did not look upon themselves as enemies subdued, nor him as King, while
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the Cardinal of Bourbon, the only acknowledged King in France, was alive; nor even after his death, on account of his religion; therefore it was the body of the monarchy which treated with a foreign prince: that, for the same reason, the King's acceptation could not be called an edict of pacification, granted by a King to his subjects, but an amicable convention with a people, who freely chose a King after the reasons for refusing him were removed. Many other impertinences with which this letter was filled, do not deserve to be repeated. Jeannin concluded, by absolutely rejecting all assistance from Mess. de Bouillon, Du-Plessis, and the other Protestants whom the King had mentioned in his letter, and declared he would have no communication with them.

While the King deliberated upon what resolutions he should take, the states were held at Paris*. The thought of assembling them came from the Prince of Parma; and it must be confessed, that by the manner he was to have taken there, in order to accomplish his designs, a resolution more destructive of the King's cause could not have been formed. This general intended to have summoned them at Rheims, and to have renewed all his endeavours to make himself master of the deliberations within; while, with a superior army without, he retained the people in his party, and the nobility in their duty, he assured himself that he should obtain an election entirely to the taste of Spain, and cause the elected monarch to

* The states were ordered to meet the 25th of January, but they were not opened till next day, in the Louvre, which was prepared for that purpose. All the speeches, acts, and ceremonies of this assembly may be found in many of the historians. See particularly De Thou, book 105. Davila, b. 13. *Memoirs of the league*, vol. 5. Villeroy's *Mem. of state*, vol. 4. *Mem. of Nevers*, vol. 2. Matthieu, vol. 2. *Chron. Noven. for 1593*, b. 5. *Satyre Manipée*, &c.

be crowned immediately. This whole plan was the effect of deep politics *, quick dispatch, great liberality, a well-chosen opportunity, and, above all, an army capable of inspiring awe; these were indeed the true means of bringing affairs to an issue, and of excluding the King for ever from the throne. But the Prince of Parma dying just as he was upon the point of executing these projects, they all expired with him, or were afterwards conducted neither with order, diligence, nor the other necessary measures. It is true, that the Count of Mansfield, who succeeded him, came at last with an army as far as Noyon; but at that time, the same submission was not made to Spain, as had been before they had conceived hopes of seeing the King abjure Calvinism; and the Count of Mansfield returned without having done any thing; besides, there was now an alteration in a circumstance, which to the Prince of Parma had always appeared essential: this was, that instead of getting the states assembled at Rheims, the Duke of Maienne had prevailed upon the Pope and the Spanish plenipotentiaries, who were Don Diego d'Ibarra, the Duke of Feria, Inigo de Mandoce, and Count John-Baptist de Taxis, to consent that they should be assembled at Paris. Each of these persons hoped, that in a city which was entirely in their interests by their alliances, their intrigues, and their presents, they might move a thousand springs to engage all the suffrages. But when this great disorderly body was assembled, they found themselves crossed by so many and such different interests, that the Spaniards having only their own voices, like others, and destitute besides of the means of making them be heard by force, found that they should meet with more obstacles

* See the Duke of Parma's letter written upon this subject to the King of Spain. Chron. Noven. b. 4. p. 5.

than they had foreseen; and from that time they feared, that they should reap no other fruit of all their intrigues and secret practices, than the imbroiling affairs some time longer, till this complication of so many views, and the impossibility of ever uniting them, would at length oblige them to listen to the dictates of reason.

How indeed was it possible to reconcile the Pope, or rather his legates, who had their particular design, the King of Spain, the Dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, the Dukes of Maienne, Nemours, Mercœur, and Guise, in fine, the Princes of the blood, who had also their different designs *, of which they were no less tenacious? All those parties, as soon as the states were opened, reflecting that this was the last effort of the party, had recourse each of them to a thousand stratagems which mutually destroyed one another, and according to the notion of what is called fine policy, involved and concealed themselves under false measures to bring others to their ends. They joined to the multiplicity of machinations already so perplexing, a flux and reflux of opinions, which brought them into a labyrinth where no person longer knew where he was. No one declared his sentiments honestly, but seemed to speak only to disguise their desire, and to set people about divining its object.

The Spaniards at this juncture regulated their conduct by their ordinary maxim, and their particular character; or perhaps their design was to sound the inclinations of the French, to discover if they would bear willingly a foreign prince to reign over them. When they perceived that by this delay they were in danger of losing what they had been so long aiming at, they at last made their most

* The league was of this advantage to France, says Le Grain, that every one was willing to command in it, and none to obey.

reasonable

reasonable proposition, which was the marriage of the Infanta * with the Cardinal of Bourbon. All the French nobles, with the Guises at their head, waited only for this step of the Spaniards, and concurred in one common design, which was, to make use of this proposal to kindle between the King and Cardinal all the hatred that could animate two declared rivals, and consequently between the King and the leaders of the contrary party, the Count of Soissons, the Duke of Nevers, Longueville, and others. They suffered this proposition to be carried so far, as to have the articles drawn up, and sent by Bellozanne to the Cardinal; but all the nobles afterward uniting, knew well how to make it fall. With what design? That may be easily penetrated into, in order that what these lords took away from the Cardinal and the Princes of the blood might fall upon themselves. As the princes of the blood, by seeming to resign their hopes in favour of the Cardinal, they had an oblique view towards themselves; which shewed them, that after him the crown would more easily revert to them, than

* Clara Eugenia of Austria, second daughter of Philip II. of Spain. Catherine, the eldest, was married to the Duke of Savoy, but not till after the Cardinal of Placentia, Legate, and Cardinal de Pellevé, had endeavoured in vain, to bring France under subjection to Spain, by the marriage of this Infanta with Prince Ernest of Austria, the eldest of the Emperor's brothers. Villeroy's Memoirs of state impute to the court of Madrid, as an error, by which Spain lost the crown of France, their not suffering this Infanta, the future Queen, to come to France, unless the Prince whom they destined for her husband was declared and acknowledged: but I doubt whether the arrival of this princess at Paris would have removed all obstacles. According to De Thou, the Duke of Guise's party was so powerful, by the union of Spain and the clergy of France, that had not his own uncle, the Duke of Maïenne, secretly opposed him, and the King of Navarre declared very seasonably his resolution to embrace the Catholic religion, in all probability this prince would have been declared King. The Duke of Guise, says Father de Chalons, after Matthieu, History of France, vol. 3. p. 257. was praised for the moderation he discovered on this occasion. He gave no indications of his having flattered himself with such agreeable hopes, nor shewed any solicitude for so great a fortune.

if it passed to the head of a foreigner. The Spaniards comprehended the meaning of all the intrigues of the Princes of Lorrain, and, one may easily imagine, never forgave them.

This common interest of the nobles, which united them against Spain and the Princes of the blood, divided them afterwards into as many branches as they had heads. Every one believed his own fittest for the diadem. Jealousy and malice were soon of the party, and each disputed for the crown, for the sole pleasure of hindering one another from obtaining it. It was the consolation of those who found themselves excluded. Some of these parties objected to one person only, and comforted himself for not being able to succeed for himself, if he could frustrate his machinations. Of this class was the clergy, which, without naming any person for the throne, used only their utmost endeavours to hinder the King of Navarre from being elected. Another undertook to supplant two, three, or more of the competitors: but there was not one from any of these motives who was capable of forming a party so much superior to the others, as to bear down all its opposers. The people, although generally the slaves of their prejudice in favour of a subject, were here, by the number of subjects, hindered from determining. And upon this occasion it happened, as has been often experienced, that adopting the style of that sort of indifferent and neutral persons who are always to be found in public assemblies, an affair of this importance was turned into a mere shew, and caused only laughter at the unhappy candidates who were rejected.

But these intrigues, this play of falsehoods, could not last long. In such sort of debates, the first deliberations, and the first motions, are suggested by the passions. If by a concurrence of causes they
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are prevented from succeeding, reason, though it slowly appears in tumultuous assemblies, yet forces itself at last to be seen and acknowledged, and after long opposition is followed through necessity. The first thing that was done on this occasion was by means of the parliament, which weighing more maturely the different proposals that were brought upon the carpet, either for a Spanish King, or one of Lorrain, found that it would be an everlasting reproach to them, to suffer a law so fundamental as the hereditary right of succession to be infringed, and began, without knowing well what would be the consequence, by granting an edict * which forbade the carrying the crown out of the royal family. This was far from being a new thought; there was not one who had it not, and who did not feel the injustice of acting contrary to it. But in order to give it due efficacy, it seems it was necessary it should be proposed with weight and gravity. The edict did the business.

The rights of the royal family began to appear sacred to a thousand persons, who a moment before had not reflected upon them. Spain, whose

* The edict was passed the 28th of June. "This action," says Villeroy, vol. 2. p. 58. "was the more applauded by all good men, as the danger that attended it was so great: it was certainly of great use, and I must say, that the kingdom owed its safety to the court." John Le Maitre, although made President of the parliament of the league by the Duke of Maienne, the President Edward Molé, the Counsellors William Du-Vair, afterwards keeper of the seals, Stephen Fleury, Peter d'Amours, Lazarus Coqueley, &c. were the chief promoters of this edict. In consequence of it, the President Le Maitre, with the Counsellors De Fleury and d'Amours, were deputed that same day, to make remonstrances to the Duke of Maienne, as lieutenant-general of the crown. The Duke complained bitterly of this affront from the parliament; and the Archbishop of Lyons, who was with him, having repeated the word *affront* in a passion, and treated the deputies with bad language, the President Le Maitre silenced him with great authority and dignity. See Memoirs of the league, vol. 9. Memoirs of Nevers, vol. 2. p. 635.

attempt was frustrated by this edict, might have still warded off the blow, had she united with the Lorrains, whom it equally struck at; but the more she thought she was intitled to reckon upon their suffrages, the more irreconcilable was her enmity toward them, when she found they had betrayed her. They could never make up to her, and their constant misunderstanding insensibly paved the way for the victory of their common adversary.

To accomplish this, there remained but one step to be taken, which was prevented by the strong opposition of the clergy*. A stop therefore was put to the affair for some time: they resumed, as if for amusement, some of their former worn out projects. Different hopes were again raised to be soon and effectually extinguished; for there was not one person who did not tacitly confess, that if the King† abjured, all contestation would be at an end. Every one voted for the engaging him to comply with this demand, and they applied themselves to it, not slightly as before, but from a more clear and distinct view of the true interest of the state: a view which from this moment became that of the parliament and the whole people, and which met with no more opposition, but what some nobles, for their personal interest, were pleased to create.

* All the memoirs of these times confirm the violent proceedings and outrageous behaviour of the Cardinal de Plefance, Legate, and of almost all the bishops of France, and curates of Paris and the Sorbonne. *Débourbonnez nous, Seigneur*, was the explication a preacher gave of that passage of scripture, *Deliver me, O Lord, out of the miry clay*. There is an infinite number of such circumstances, the malignity of which cannot surely be excused by zeal for the true religion. De Thou observes, that the clergy was the only one of the three estates that persisted in voting for a war.

† It was demonstrated at this time, that Henry IV. was not only the lawful heir to the crown, that was never disputed, but also that in his person the three races of our Kings were united. See a proof in a new work intitled, *Genealogical histories of all the sovereign families*, in the 22d genealogical table.

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The Dukes of Maienne, Nemours, and Mercœur, testified the greatest obstinacy, as was most natural, considering that they, of all others, had been most flattered: but bad as their intentions were, they could not hinder a conference with the King from being proposed in the states, and carried by a plurality of voices. It was, however, in their power to destroy or suspend the effect; and they did not fail to do so: for this purpose they used their utmost endeavours; they set their emissaries to work, took advantage of the King's bad success at Selles *, caused Mansfield to advance, who took Noyon, gave all the force they were able to the Pope's refusing to allow the Cardinal de Gondy, and the Marquis de Pisany, whom the King had sent to him, to enter Rome, or even to set foot in his Holiness's territories. Could they flatter themselves, that the irregularity of these proceedings would not be remarked, after having so often protested, that in all their actions they had only the interest of religion in view, and that they were ready to submit to Henry as soon as he should quit his errors? No person was deceived; and although they prevented all the consequences which the conference held at Surêne, in the month of April †, might have produced, it was thought the last effort of an expiring power. It appeared plainly, that if the King, after having consented that no Pro-

* The journey which Henry IV. took towards Tours, and the necessity to which he reduced himself of raising the siege of the city of Selles in Berry, were then thought considerable faults.

† In the latter end of April, and during part of the month of May. See in the records, vol. 8889. of MSS. in the royal library; Villeroy's memoirs of state, vol. 4.; Matthieu and Cayet, *ibid*, &c. The Archbishop of Bourges, who pleaded the King's cause, maintained, that obedience is due to Pagan princes, and supported this assertion by the authority of St Paul, the privileges of the Gallic church, and by many other unanswerable proofs. Insupportable as the arguments alledged by the Archbishop of Lyons to the contrary were, they prevailed in this conference.

testant deputy should appear at that conference, had not yet entirely complied, it was because the leaguers raised more difficulties about temporal, than the King about spiritual matters. The people, especially, were disposed to do him all justice, and the sweets of a truce, which was the only benefit resulting from this conference, drew them entirely into his interests. But I now return more particularly to this prince.

He made Mante the place of his constant residence, where all his prudence was scarce sufficient to keep a party, composed of persons so opposite in their sentiments, entire. He had been alarmed at first, with the convention of the states, and with so much the more reason, as the first thought which suggested itself to his mind on that occasion, was, that an assembly, in appearance so august and respectable, would soon find a remedy for the disorders of the state. Under this apprehension, the King began to flatter the Catholics more than was his custom; and, as we have just seen, made some efforts to gain the Pope, to the end that he might not extinguish in both parties the only hope that could hinder them from coming to an open rupture with him. It may be easily imagined, that this could not be done without awakening the discontent of the Huguenots. But the King, by his wisdom, was beforehand with them; and it appeared, that nothing was done but in consequence of that general council of the Protestants, of which we have already seen that the result was to turn the thing into art and negotiation. When their complaints grew too loud, and the King found reason to fear that they would carry things to extremity against him, he knew how to appease them by some new military expedition, which he likewise engaged in, to convince the people still more, that this same prince, who appeared so easy and gracious, was no less worthy

worthy to command them for his valour and abilities in war.

As soon as he was informed of the disunion that raged in the states, the trouble and contestations that every word gave rise to, he looked upon this assembly to be the happy means by which his designs would be accomplished; and all his perplexity now was, the regulating his conduct with the great number of mediators who meddled in his affairs, as soon as it was proposed in the states to treat with him. This prince would at that time have found no obstacle to the crown, if he had appeared of a humour to satisfy the excessive demands which the nobles and other members of the league began to make him; but he was resolved that posterity should never reproach him with his having owed the regal dignity to his meanness, in submitting to the avidity and the caprice of his subjects. That he was thus able to resist his natural inclination and ardor to ascend the throne, was a convincing proof of his being well worthy of it.

I ought here to do justice to some of them, (the number indeed is not very great); but I am well assured, that Mess. de Bellièvre, de Belin, and Zamet, for instance, had no view to their own interests in those applications which they made to the King. Some others there might be, who behaved in the same manner; but of them I cannot speak with any certainty. As to the rest, I shall content myself with naming the principal agents deputed to the King, as well by the league and the states, as by the clergy and French nobility. I shall not repeat names already mentioned, but add to them only the Cardinal de Gondy, the Marechals d'Aumont and de Bouillon, the Admiral de Biron, Mess. d'O, de Vitry, de Lux, du Plessis, la Verriere, de Fleury, and the Abbé de Chesy. A great many others remained undistinguished in this croud, although

though there was not one amongst them, who was not persuaded in his own mind, that he should be one day mentioned in history, as the person who had given the decisive blow. I once counted over to the King, by their names, above a hundred of those persons. Those that remained would make a fine decoration here, if one could for a moment only open and display the hearts of those ardent counsellors. Vanity, the desire of favour, self-interest, vile artifice, jealousy, knavery, and treachery, would be all one could discover in them.

There were some, who till the last moment did not quit their disguise, by which they abused the privilege of conferring with this prince, in order to betray more securely, and to spread snares for him, which any other could not have escaped. It is with regret that I name Villeroy* and Jeannin here; but the fact is too well known, and the confusion

* In the 1st volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of state, which contains only a justification of this secretary's conduct, he candidly confesses, that he would never have been prevailed upon to engage in the party of Henry IV. if he had not beforehand taken all the necessary measures for the security of the Catholic religion. He confesses also, with the same sincerity, his connections with the league and Spain, and the political principle which he had espoused, that, in making peace, it was most advantageous for the King, to separate him from the interest of England, and unite him with Spain. With regard to other accusations, he defends himself with great force. He protested that he never received any money from Spain; and whatever arguments he offered, either in the states or any other councils, were sincerely meant for the King's advantage, and to forward the peace. See the note upon this subject some pages above, and what is said in the preface to this work. As to the oath taken by the league, which the Duke of Sully here mentions, and which is the most serious article against Villeroy, he is clearly justified by Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 153. *et seqq.* by Cayet, Chron. Noven. book 5. p. 229. and some other historians; so that it must be confessed, that this is an error in our Memoirs. According to these historians, Villeroy had not only no part in this oath, but was also absolutely ignorant of it, till Henry IV. showed him this writing at Fontainebleau, and charged him to remonstrate the baseness of such a proceeding to the Duke of Mayenne, whom Villeroy was at that time, by the King's command, honestly endeavouring

fusion they were afterwards in, when the King publicly reproached them with it at Fountainbleau, is a conviction of it, as well as the interested conduct Villeroy afterwards observed. Two days only before the King's abjuration, those gentlemen employed themselves so usefully, that they procured a secret assembly to be held, composed of the Pope's, and the King of Spain's ministers, and the chief partisans of the league, either in person, or by proxy, for the Dukes of Nemours and Mercœur, then absent. In this assembly, the legate made them all swear, upon the cross, the evangelists, and even the host, to maintain the league, till they saw, upon the throne of France, (I speak it with pain), a King agreeable to Spain; and, above all, never to acknowledge the King of Navarre for such, though he should join to the claim of his birth that of a sincere abjuration. This very pious and charitable oath, signed by the whole assembly, was inclosed in a packet, and sent to Rome. It was from a letter wrote by the Cardinal of Placentia to some members of parliament, the bearer of which was taken up at Lyons by the King's soldiers, that we came to the knowledge of this piece. In this manner did they sport with fidelity, virtue, and religion. This circumstance, though anticipated, seems to me not improperly mentioned here.

Amongst that croud of negotiators and counsellors there were many who imagined to deceive the King, and who only deceived themselves. The King let them remain in this opinion, not to per-

endeavouring to separate from the league. But it is still more certain, that when Villeroy reproached the Duke of Maienne with this criminal step, Maienne answered him in these words: "I would neither tell you nor the President Jeannin of this oath, because I had promised otherwise to the Spaniards and the legate, and was not ignorant that you would never be brought to approve of such a remedy." *Matthieu, p. 155.*

suade

suade these schemers, but the people, of the facility of bringing him to the point they wished. I speak this because I was told it by the King himself. I remember one night, which was, I believe, on the 15th of February, when all the courtiers had quitted his apartment, he sent Ferret, his secretary, to bring me to him, who introduced me into his chamber, where I found him in bed. He owned to me, that he was under a necessity of using this precaution whenever he had an inclination to converse with me, that he might not give disgust to the Catholics, and the Protestants likewise, who hated me still more, perhaps, through jealousy, than the former did through a natural aversion. After complaining of this restraint, in terms very obliging to me, he talked to me of those affairs which were at present upon the carpet, and of the intrigues of the courtiers to give themselves the honour of the decision. I had said before, and it had been repeated to the King, that I was afraid his easy disposition would make him give up more than he ought to do. But the manner in which this prince represented to me the state of affairs, and painted the different characters of all the pretenders to his favour, convinced me I had been deceived. I was surprised at that justness of penetration with which he, at a glance, discerned truth through all the veils that obscured it. Nor was I less charmed, when, submitting his knowledge to mine, he insisted upon my prescribing to him the manner in which he should finish an affair, which, to confess the truth, was not without danger till the last moment. I endeavoured to excuse myself from accepting this honour; but all I could obtain was a delay of three days to take my resolution: it was during this conversation that the King first spoke to me about his design of intrusting his finances to my care.

After

After three days mature reflection, I waited upon the King with the same secrecy. I relished none of the schemes that had been recommended to him, and which differed only in the proportion of those rewards which were to be granted to the principal members of the league, and to other interested persons. My opinion was, that matters were not yet ripe for a conclusion; which I supported with the following arguments: That the King was freed from that only fear which could induce him to precipitate the issue; by which I meant the fear that all these pretenders to royalty should unite resolutely in favour of a subject; because the misunderstanding which had already risen among the princes, the nobles, and the ministers of Spain, gaining strength every day, we could not but expect to see them soon studious to destroy each other's pretensions. This being supposed, which was the essential point, it must necessarily happen, that those who were indifferent, and had right intentions, would bind themselves more closely to the King's party: That this effect was already indubitable, with regard to those cities of France which were at too great a distance from the league and the cabal, to be influenced by their impressions and warmth: That the chiefs of the league themselves, through hatred, jealousy, or even a consideration of their own interest, would, one after the other, throw themselves into the King's party: That the bare hopes only which this prince would suffer them to entertain, would give him beforehand most of those advantages he could gain from the accomplishment of them, and would not expose him to dangers: That the dangers of a too precipitate execution were, first, an open separation of the Protestants, who were not yet sufficiently prepared for this change, which might produce the most fatal consequences; since the King, not being yet secure

of all the Catholics to oppose them, would remain at the mercy of both parties; and, secondly, the necessity he laid himself under, by throwing himself into the arms of the Catholics, of granting all their demands, however exorbitant they were; which, both for the present and the future, was of dangerous consequence: That it was necessary to allow these schemers, and all the chiefs of the league, time to give a precise form to their demands, by which they would perceive, that they were incroaching upon each other; which would oblige them to reduce of themselves their excessive pretensions, to agree, that by setting too high a value upon slight services, they would put it out of the King's power to satisfy them, and at length to seek their own interest in the general interest of the state. I told the King, that he would find, the first who took this step would be those, who having, only at the instigation of foreign powers, demanded satisfactions which they were perhaps desirous of sharing with them, would begin to be sensible of the injustice of their proceedings, in proportion as their hatred of those foreigners increased: and that those very foreigners, finding the King so ready to comply with the demands that were made upon him, would make others demand what they themselves did not believe they could obtain.

I shewed the King, that whatever change should happen in his affairs, it could not be so sudden, but he would have it in his power to prevent it, since a few words would suffice for that; whereas, by gaining time, he would discover all their designs, and could secretly break those connections that might be among them, till all that remained to put an entire conclusion to the treaty, would be to bestow some satisfactions upon those who had really a right to demand them. To bring affairs happily to this end, I saw nothing better to be done, than for
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the King to persist in that conduct he had hitherto observed: To receive every one kindly; promise little; seem desirous of bringing matters to a conclusion; ascribe always the fault of delays to obstacles, and earnestly endeavour to remove them. This, in my opinion, is the manner in which one generally ought to act in political affairs which are a little thorny. It is well known in theory, that the difference between precipitation and diligence is, that this last, as much a foe to inaction and sloth as the other, engages in nothing without having first consulted judgment upon it; while in practice they are almost always confounded.

In those arguments which I made use of to the King, his conversion was always the foundation I supposed; and his Majesty, by contradicting none of them, gave me to understand, that he would not be stopped by that formality. I added only one thing more; which was, that he would not suffer this negotiation to degenerate into mere debates, as his adversaries did, but clap some military expedition to it. Having many other reasons to add, I offered to give them to the King in writing. His Majesty replied, there was no occasion for it; that he believed he comprehended all I could have to say to him; and that, when he had time himself, he would discourse with me upon a system, by which it seemed to him, that, after having united himself to the Catholics, it would not be impossible to reconcile them to the Protestants.

That this resolution might be fully executed, the King, at his return to Mante, after the breaking off the conference of Surène, caused others, wholly upon the subject of religion, to be held between the Catholic doctors and the Protestant ministers; at which he was regularly present: and, on the other hand, he made his preparations for opening the campaign, in the month of April, by some ac-

tion of importance, rather indeed to keep up his reputation with the people, than with a design to continue seriously a war, for which his funds were absolutely insufficient.

This expedition was the siege of Dreux, for which the King borrowed a large sum of money from the city of Mante ; and leaving that place about the beginning of April, came to pass the river of Eure at Serisy, while I on my side assembled, and led the necessary artillery. The Admiral de Biron, by the King's order, invested the city, which made little resistance : all the difficulty lay in taking the castle, and especially the tower Grise, which was cannon proof. I promised the King to carry it, if he would give me four English and Scotch miners, and a certain number of workmen. My enterprise did not fail to furnish matter for laughter and contempt to my enemies, who eagerly seized this occasion to mortify me. The King, though very doubtful of my success, granted my request. I led my miners and pioneers to the foot of the tower, where, to guard them against the fire and efforts of the besieged, I covered them with mantelets, and strong pieces of wood, and made them apply so closely and with such eagerness to the work, that, out of six and thirty pioneers which I had, four only could work at once : the hardness of the stone exhausted their strength, and covered them with sweat the instant they began to work ; but I caused them to be relieved immediately by four others ; so that the work was not discontinued for one moment, although the enemies within endeavoured to destroy them, by precipitating large pieces of stone, and firing incessantly upon them.

When I found that, notwithstanding this vigorous defence, I had the very first day made an opening five feet in height, three in width, and four in depth, I believed the success almost infallible. Six
days

days were consumed in this work. I inclosed three or four hundred pounds of excellent powder, in several cavities of six or seven feet square, in the thickest part of the wall, which I shut up with strong stones cemented together with plaister, leaving a passage only for two large saucisses of dry hides filled with good powder, the end of which reached to the powder within, and joined on the outside of the tower a train to which the fire was to be put. The Duke of Montpensier, desirous of seeing the disposition of this machine, received a musket-shot there in his face. Every one waited impatiently for my confusion, the result of this great work. And when they were informed of the time when I was to set fire to it, they eagerly assembled to behold the effect: which was not indeed instantaneous; for at first a low sound was heard, accompanied with a good deal of smoke, during which a thousand contemptuous glances were cast upon me; and I was forced to endure as many strokes of raillery upon my mine: but I soon had my revenge. In a few minutes, a much thicker cloud of smoke rose as high as the tower, and, in an instant, we saw it separate precisely into two parts, one of which fell, dragging men, women, and children with it, who were buried under its ruins. The other continued still standing, but in such a condition, that we could behold under its uncovered roof all those that were within, who, terrified and astonished at such an horrible accident, and at our soldiers firing immediately and directly upon them, sent forth most lamentable cries. The King, moved with compassion, ordered the fire to cease, and sending for those miserable objects, gave a crown to each of them. The castle instantly surrendered; and this once I was sure, that the government of a city, taken almost wholly by my means, would not be refused me. But D'O triumphed in gaining.

it from me; and I yielded it to him, after the King had represented to me, that the terms he was upon with the Catholic party made it impolitic to disoblige them for so slight a subject.

The King stopped only to perform a few more such little expeditions, and returned immediately to Mante, to resume his conferences. This alternate succession of war and debates lasted all the time that the states continued to be held, and even till the day of the King's abjuration. I should betray the cause of truth, if I suffered it to be only suspected, that policy, the threats of the Catholics, the fatigue of labour, the love of repose, the desire of freeing himself from the tyranny of foreigners, or even the good of the people, though highly laudable in itself, had entirely influenced the King's last resolution. As far as I am able to judge of the heart of this prince, which I believe I know better than any person, it was indeed those considerations which first hinted to him the thoughts of his conversion; and I confess, that I myself suggested no others to him, fully persuaded, as I have always been, although a Calvinist, from what I have gathered from the most learned of the Reformed ministers, that God is no less honoured in the Catholic than in the Protestant church. But at length the King felt himself brought so far, as to regard the Catholic faith as the most sure. The character of candor and sincerity which I always observed in this prince, persuades me, that he would have ill worn, during all the remainder of his life, such a disguise.

Moreover, the confession I make here ought not to be judged hardly of. It is not surprising that Henry, who had never heard so much spoken of religion as in these conferences, and in these continual controversies, should suffer himself to be drawn on that side, which they were careful to
make

make always victorious *. For it must be observed, as an effect of the King's prudent delays, that all, even the Protestants, nay more, the Protestant clergy who were employed in the conferences, were at last thoroughly convinced, that the King's change of religion was a thing absolutely necessary for the good of the state, for peace, and even for the advantage of both religions ; so that there was a kind of general conspiracy to draw him to it. The Protestant clergy either defended themselves no longer, or did it so weakly, that their adversaries had always the advantage.

The Abbé du Perron, who was there as in the field of his glory, was not a man who would lose the fruits of his victory. With that soft and insinuating conversation, that strong and persuasive eloquence, that inexhaustible fund of erudition, supported by a prodigious memory, he could neither be overthrown, nor convicted of falsehood, but by the help of a whole library ; a kind of languishing defence. With princes, the transition from complaisance to flattery is very easy. Some of the Protestant clergy, who were most about the King, and whom he consulted upon his difficulties, formally betrayed their faith † ; or, by a concerted perplexity,

* All these discourses of the cardinals and prelates of France, whether intended to enlighten his understanding, or increase his zeal, may be found in vol. 9214. of MSS in the King's library.

The sincerity of his conversion is there proved by the following marks : His respect for the Pope, the cardinals, and the whole clergy ; his solicitude for the conversion of the young Prince of Condé ; his alliance with the Pope, by marrying the Princess of Florence ; his endeavours to cultivate a good intelligence between the sovereign Pontiff and the King of England ; the marriage of his sister with the Duke of Bar ; the erection of the hospital for sick, and other buildings ; the sepulchre of our Lord, and the holy places ; the satisfaction which he shewed at the victory gained over the Calvinists by the Bishop of Evreux, &c.

† D'Aubigné names some of these Protestants ; and observes also, that the Marchioness de Monceaux, the King's mistress, acted the same

perplexity, flattered that religion which they already looked upon to be the religion of the King.

The leaders of the Protestant party were not so easily brought this length. They were sometimes untractable. It was in vain to remonstrate to them, that, by their obstinacy, the King would lose the crown; and that, since it was necessary it should be possessed by a Catholic prince, it was an advantage to them, that this Catholic prince was the same who had so long been affectionately united with them, and upon whose friendship they might reckon. They had flattered themselves, that they should see a prince of their own faith upon the throne, and that Calvinism should be the established religion in France. They thought it hard to be deprived of this advantage. Self-love in all religions makes such a loss be looked upon as irreparable*.

The King experienced this excess of bad humour, when some of the chief cities in the kingdom, that had been suffered to groan under the oppression of an infinite number of little tyrants, first applied to his Majesty, and deputed the Count of Belin to demand of him the freedom of commerce. Henry was either at Mante, or at Vernon, when the Count of Belin came to make him this proposition, which he received in the presence of his whole council. There was not a Protestant there who appeared willing that he should grant it; and what is still more surprising, it met with equal opposition from

same part, in the hope of becoming Queen herself, if Henry should be declared King. *Vol 3. book 3. chap. 22.*

* "If I follow your advice," replied Henry IV. to a clergyman named *La-Faye*, who addressed him in the name of the Protestant party, "there will in a little time be neither a king nor kingdom in France. It is my desire to give peace to all my subjects, and repose to my soul. Consider among yourselves what is most necessary for your own security; you shall always find me ready to content you." *Chron. Noven. ibid.*

the

the Catholics, without their being able to assign a lawful, or even a plausible reason. All these persons perplexed one another in their deliberations, and perceived plainly that their opinion was groundless, yet they would not alter it. The King looking at me that moment, "Monsieur de Rosny," said he to me, "what makes you so thoughtful? Will not you speak your mind absolutely any more than others?" I took the word, and was not afraid to declare myself against all those who had given their opinions, by maintaining, that it was necessary not to hesitate a moment in completing the gaining the people over to the King's interests, by an instance of kindness which he might revoke if he found that they abused it. This advice raised a cry of disapprobation, which I have always regarded as a recrimination of that consent I had extorted from the council, which has been mentioned before. The King was obliged to yield to their importunity; and the Count of Belin returned without success.

Henry, however, made his reflections upon this refusal; and judging, that there wanted but little more of the same nature to alienate totally the people's affections from him, and to induce them to go over to the party of his enemies, he resolved to defer his conversion no longer. He well perceived, that he ought no longer to expect to vanquish the opposition of certain of the Protestants, or to obtain their full consent to this step*; but that it was necessary to do some violence, and to hazard some murmurs, which would end in nothing.

* Henry IV. was always sensible, that his abjuration would expose him to great hazards; which made him write in this manner to Mademoiselle d'Estrées. "On Sunday I shall take a perilous leap. While I am writing to you, I have a hundred troublesome people about me, which makes me detest St Denis as much as you do Mante," &c. See the new edition of Henry the Great's letters.

As for the Catholics of his party, the King endeavoured only to dissipate their fears, that, looking upon them as persons of whom he was secure, he would apply himself wholly to the gaining the rest, by bestowing all favours upon them. He therefore at last declared publicly, that the 20th of July should be the day of his abjuration; and named the church of St Denis for this ceremony.

This declaration disconcerted the league, and filled the hearts of the people, and the Catholics of the royal party, with joy. The Protestants, although they had expected it, murmured and shrugged up their shoulders, and did for form's sake all that such a juncture required of them; but they did not exceed the bounds of obedience. All the ecclesiastics, with Du-Perron, intoxicated with his triumph, at their head, flocked together; every one was desirous of a share in this work. Du-Perron, for whom I had obtained the bishopric of Evreux, thought he could not shew his gratitude for it in a better manner, than by exercising his ~~function~~ of converter upon me. He accosted me with all the confidence of a conqueror, and proposed to me to be present at a ceremony, where he flattered himself he should shine with such lights, as would dissipate the profoundest darknes. "Sir," replied I, "all I have to do by being present at your " disputes, is, to examine which side produces the " strongest and most valid reasons. The state of affairs, your number, and your riches, require that " your distinctions should prevail." In effect, they did. There was a numerous court at St Denis, and all was conducted with great pomp and splendor. I may be dispensed with dwelling upon the description of a ceremony, which the Catholic historians * will do with equal prolixness and complacency.

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* See, besides the above-mentioned historians, Mezerai, and the
volumes

I did not imagine I could be of any use at this time; therefore kept myself retired, as one who had no interest in the shew that was preparing, when I was visited by Du-Perron, whom the Cardinal of Bourbon had sent to me, to decide a final dispute that had arisen about the terms in which the form of the King's profession of faith should be conceived. The Catholic priests and doctors stuffed it industriously with all the trifles their heads were filled with; and were going to make it a ridiculous paper, instead of a grave and solemn composition. The Protestant ministers, and the King himself, could not away * with the childish insignificancies with which they had stuffed this formula; and it occasioned a contestation which had like to have ruined all.

I went immediately with Du-Perron to the Cardinal of Bourbon, with whom it was agreed, that none of the points of faith which were controverted by the two churches should be omitted, but that all the rest should be suppressed as useless. The parties approved of this regulation; and the instrument † was drawn up in such a manner, that the King acknowledged there all the Roman tenets concerning the holy scripture, the church, the number and the ceremonies of the sacraments, the sa-

volume of MSS. marked 8935. in the King's library; where may be found likewise the letter written to his Holiness by the King, the commission given to M. du Perron, when he went to Rome to make a tender of obedience to the Pope, and the King's declaration of the motives of his conversion.

* "Let us not speak of a *requiem*," said Henry IV. "I am not dead yet."

† See the original of it in the old Memoirs. Du-Plessis-Mornay, and Mezerai after him, reproached the King and the Catholics, apparently without any foundation, that this first instrument which they suppressed, was however the same that was sent to the Pope, as if the King had composed, written, and signed it with his own hand, but, in reality, counterfeited, by M. Lominie. These are his own words, book 1. p. 198. book 2. p. 207.

crifice of the mass, transubstantiation, the doctrine of justification, the invocation of saints, the worship of relics and images, purgatory, indulgences, and the supremacy and power of the Pope *. After which the satisfaction was general †.

B O O K VI.

THE ceremony of the King's abjuration was followed by a deputation ‡ of the Duke of Nevers to Rome, who, together with the Cardinal de Gondy, and the Marquis de Pisany, were to make the Pope the obeisance usual in such cases. Although

* Another act of equal validity, by which Henry IV. acknowledged the Pope's authority, is the declaration which he made after his conversion, that it was necessity, and the confusion of affairs, that obliged him to receive absolution from the prelates of France, rather than from those of St Peter. This declaration is recorded in Villeroy's Memoirs of state, vol. 3. p. 61.

† It was Renauld, or Beaune de Samblançai, Archbishop of Bourges, who received the King's abjuration. The Cardinal of Bourbon, who was not a priest, and nine other bishops, assisted at the ceremony. Henry IV. entering the chapel of St Denis, the Archbishop said to him, "Who are you?" Henry replied, "I am the King." "What is your request?" said the Archbishop. "To be received," said the King, "unto the pale of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church." "Do you desire it?" added the prelate. "Yes, I do desire it," replied the King. Then kneeling, he said, "I protest and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, to live and die in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion; to protect and defend it against all its enemies, at the hazard of my blood and life, renouncing all heresies contrary to this Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church." He afterwards put this same confession, in writing, into the hands of the Archbishop, who presented him his ring to kiss, giving him absolution with a loud voice, and heard his confession, during which *Te Deum* was sung, &c. See a particular account of the ceremony in the historians, Cayet, book 5. p. 222. et seqq. Matthieu, &c.

‡ Clement VIII. refused to acknowledge and receive the Duke of Nevers as ambassador, and would oblige the French bishops to go and present themselves to the grand inquisitor, pretending that they

Although this change was a mortal stroke for the league, the Spaniards and the Duke of Maienne still held out. They endeavoured to persuade their partisans, that there still remained resources capable of frustrating it : but all of them spoke at that time contrary to their sentiments ; and this feigned confidence was only designed to obtain greater advantages from the King, before he was well established on the throne.

This is not a simple conjecture, at least with regard to the King of Spain, since it is certain, that he ordered Taxis and Stuniga to offer the King succours sufficient to reduce all the chiefs of the league and the Protestant party, without annexing any other condition to this offer, than a strict alliance between the two crowns, and an agreement, that the King should give no support to the rebels in the Low Countries. Philip II. judged of Henry by himself, and considered his conversion only as the principle of a new political system, which required him to betray his oldest engagements. It may not, perhaps, be useless to make here a remark upon Spain ; it is, that although before and after the death of Catherine de Medicis, she had put a thousand different springs in motion, and although she

they had no power to absolve the King. M. de Thou blames, with as much reason, the Pope's inflexibility upon this occasion, as he extols the courage, prudence, and the whole conduct of the Duke of Nevers, book 108. See Mem. de Nevers, tome 2. MSS de bibliot. du Roi, and in the historians above mentioned, the particulars of the embassies of Nevers and Luxemburg, and the negotiations of Father Seraphin Olivari, De la Clielle, of the Abbots du Perron and d'Ossat with the Holy Father. The Pope still deferred a long time an absolution, which he had a great desire to grant, and received very ill La-Clielle, who presented to him the letters of Henry IV. Father Seraphin, who was present, and plainly perceived that the Pope's anger was only feigned, said to him merrily, " Holy Father, if the devil himself was to come and ask an audience of you, and if there was any hope of converting him, you could not in conscience deny him it." This made his Holiness smile.

had changed parties and interests every time she thought it expedient to draw advantages from the divisions that agitated this kingdom, the Protestant party was the only one to which she had never turned herself. She has often publicly protested, that she never had the least intention to gain or suffer their alliance. It is by consequence of this same antipathy, that the Spaniards have constantly refused the new religion admission into their states : which cannot be attributed to any thing but the republican maxims with which these religionists are accused of being tainted. The King being more and more convinced, that to choak the seeds of schism in his kingdom, it was necessary to give none of the different factions occasion to boast, that his power was at their disposal ; and that, to reduce all parties, he must not espouse any : he therefore constantly rejected these offers from Spain, and those which the Duke of Maienne made him to the same purpose ; but, at the same time, appeared willing to treat with any of the chiefs or of the cities of the league which would surrender, and to recompense them in proportion to their forwardness and services : and it was this prudent medium that he was resolved to persist in. Although his last action had united him to the religion of the league, yet his aversion to the spirit of that body, and to the maxims by which it had ever been conducted, was not diminished : the very name only of the league was sufficient to kindle his indignation. The Catholic leaguers supposing that his abjuration authorised them to abolish, in some cities which depended upon them, the edicts that were favourable to the Huguenots, the King caused them to be re-established : and though in some places, the leaguers had obtained the consent even of the Huguenots themselves (determined to purchase peace at any price) for this purpose, yet the Protestant party
murmuring

murmuring at it, Henry cancelled all that had been done to that effect *, and manifested, that his intention was to keep the balance always equal.

The Duke of Maienne, finding that in this last scheme, which he had believed infallible, he was disappointed as well as the rest, placed all his future dependence upon his old friends the Parisians, and neglected no method by which he might awaken their mutinous humour. But very far from succeeding in this attempt, he could not even hinder them from discovering their joy at what had just passed at St Denis. They talked publicly of peace, and in his very presence; and he had the mortification to hear a proposal to send deputies to the King, to demand a truce for six months, and to be obliged to give his own consent to it. The truce for three months, that had been granted them at Surêne †, had only given them a relish for a longer one.

The King gave audience to the deputies in full council. The greatest number of those who composed it, listening only to their jealousy of the Duke of Maienne, whom they feared as a man that had the means in his power of purchasing favour and rewards, were of opinion, that no regard ought to be had to the demand of the deputies, because the person who sent them persisted in his revolt against the King, ever since his abjuration. Notwithstanding the justice of not confounding the Duke of

* The King, on the 12th of December this year, held an assembly of the Protestants at Mante, in which he publicly declared, that his changing his religion should make no alteration in the affairs of the Protestants. *Mem. de la ligue, tome 5.* And the Calvinists having made many demands, he told them, that he could not grant them, but that he would tolerate them. *Matthieu, tom. 2. b. 1. p. 164.*

† Or at Villette, situated between Paris and St Denis, as it is observed in the Memoirs of the league. It is dated July 31. and was published the next day at Paris.

Maïenne with the Parisians, I saw this advice was likely to be followed; and certainly it could not but have produced some terrible misfortune. I insisted so strongly upon the advantage of letting the people, already recovered from their first wanderings, taste the sweetness of a peace, which would interest them still more in the King's favour, that this prince declared he would grant the truce they demanded of him, but only for the months of August, September, and October.

The next day a prodigious concourse of the populace of Paris assembled at St Denis. The King shewed himself to the people, assisted publicly at mass; where-ever he turned his steps, the croud was so great, that it was * sometimes impossible to pierce through them: at the same moment, a million of voices together cried, *Long live the King.* Every one returned, charmed with his good mien, his condescension, and that popular air which was natural to him. "God bless him," said they, with tears in their eyes, "and grant that he may soon do the same in our church of Notre-Dame in Paris." I observed to the King this disposition of the people with regard to him: tender and sensible as he was, he could not behold this spectacle without a lively emotion.

The Spaniards had recourse to their ordinary subtleties. D'Entragues came to me one morning, and told me, that a Spaniard was just arrived at St Denis, charged with important dispatches, from Mandoce, who had ordered him to address himself directly to me, as being the only man who had

* "They are wild," said Henry, "to see a King." *Etoile, ib.* In a letter which he wrote to Mademoiselle D'Effrées, upon this or some similar occasion, he says, "A pleasant adventure beset me at church: an old woman of eighty years of age, seized me by the head and kissed me; I was not the first who laughed at it; to-morrow you shall purify my mouth." *Recueil des lettres d'Henry le Grand.*

any knowledge of the proposals which he had a long time ago made to the King at Bearn, by Moreau and the Viscount de Chaux. This Spaniard, whose name was *Ordognes* or *Nugnes*, had been a domestic of D'Entragues, whose service he had quitted for that of Mandoce: D'Entragues corresponded, by his means, with the Spanish ambassador to the league: This is what I learned of this man by the recital, whether true or false, that D'Entragues made me. I did not confide much in this Spanish emissary, and scarcely more in D'Entragues, with whose turbulent disposition I was acquainted. I received him therefore coldly enough; for I did not doubt but this was all a Spanish stratagem. But D'Entragues seemed so offended at my suspicions of his fidelity, and added so many assurances of the veracity of his *Nugnes*, that I permitted him to bring him to me that evening. The King, whom I informed of D'Entragues's visit, had the same opinion of it that I had: however, he commanded me to hear the envoy.

D'Entragues did not fail to return at the time appointed, accompanied by the Spaniard; who, after some vague conversation about the joy there was in the court of Spain for the King's abjuration, and infinite protestations of good-will, which I had no reason to believe very sincere, at length told me, he was charged to propose a marriage between the King and the Infanta of Spain, with some other articles, which he declared he had been ordered to explain only to the King himself, to whom he intreated me to present him. Henry being willing to hear him, I told *Nugnes*, without any ceremony, that since he came from so suspected a place, he must purchase the honour of an audience from his Majesty, by submitting to a few precautions that would perhaps be a little mortifying. He thought nothing too hard. I therefore began to search him

myself, and afterwards caused two of my valets de chambre to make a more rigid scrutiny about his person and cloaths : one of them having been a taylor, acquitted himself perfectly. When he came into the King's apartment, I made him kneel, and held both his hands betwixt mine. He added nothing to the proposals he had already made me ; but talked of the alliance between the two crowns, in terms so specious and so magnificent, that the King, who at first would hardly listen to him, could not hinder himself from approving of the Spaniard's proposal, to send some person on whom he could rely, to inquire of Don Bernardin de Mandoce himself, if the truth of what he had just said could be reckoned upon.

This deputation, which would have the appearance of a mystery, I could not approve of, and still less of the choice his Majesty made of La-Varenne for this occasion, a man full of vanity*. The King, to whom I discovered all my apprehensions,

* His name was *William Fouquet*, and he derived the title of *La-Varenne* from the marquisate of La-Varenne in Anjou, which he bought. His first employment was that of a cook to the Princess Catherine, and his chief excellency in it was larding meat. If it be true, that this princess met him one day after his preferment, and said to him, " La-Varenne, You have gained more by carrying poulets * to my brother, than by larding pullets to me ;" one may conclude, that the means by which he gained the King's favour were not the most honest. He was first made cloak-bearer to this prince, afterwards counsellor of state, and comptroller general of the post-office, and always lived in great familiarity with Henry IV. who gave him letters of nobility. La Varenne appointed a gentleman to attend his son. " What," said this prince to him, " if thou hadst given thy son to a gentleman, I should have understood what you would be at ; but to give a gentleman to him, is what I cannot comprehend." They say likewise, that La-Varenne having obtained some favour of the King, which the Chancellor de Bellievre made some difficulty to grant him, La-Varenne said to him, " Sir, don't have such a high opinion of yourself. I would have you know,

* *The original word is of an ambiguous meaning, denoting both a pullet and a girl.*

" that

sions, thought he should avoid any appearance of an engagement or negotiation with Spain, by giving La-Varenne no commissions in writing, and making the regulation of some boundaries upon the frontiers of Spain the pretence for his journey. La-Varenne had no sooner received orders to depart, than he boasted of his commission, assumed the ambassador, and represented himself as such to Mandocce ; who, on his side, paid him greater honours than he had required. This produced the effect which the Spaniards designed it should. It was for some time believed in England and Germany, that Henry courted the King of Spain's friendship, and to break the alliance with the Protestant powers ; which might perhaps have produced an open rupture, if the King had not taken measures immediately to convince them of the contrary.

A last resource which the league now depended upon, and which was the cause that they always protracted an agreement or rupture with the Spaniards, was the horrid resolution of assassinating the King : A resolution with which they knew well how to inspire a small number of determined men, whose heads they had turned with the alluring prospect of great rewards, if they succeeded in their enterprise, and the hopes of meriting a crown of martyrdom if they failed in it. Nature itself so recoils at the reflection, that those who boast of being the supporters of religion, should so monstrously abuse what it holdeth most sacred, that this passage ought to be effaced from all histories ; were it not likewise certain, that there is not any society of men, who

" that if my master was twenty-five years younger, I would not change my employment for your's." See D'Aubigné, *Geneal. de Sainte-Marthe*, Mem. de M. le Duc d'Angoulême, Mem. de Du-Plessis, &c. Menagiana. Cayet, *ibid.* tom. 5. p. 276. speaks of the embassy of La-Varenne into Spain, in a quite different manner from our Memoirs,

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bear the name of Christians, that would not reject with indignation the imputation of authorising such a design. It were even criminal to accuse any body of men, or even any individual, without proofs too clear to be contested.

The King had them but too frequently * in those journeys he took from St Denis to Châlons-sur-marne, to Fort de Gournai, to Brie-comterobert, to Melun, and afterwards to Meulan and Fontainebleau. Upon this article, the monks especially have contracted a stain which they will not easily efface. Henry, while at Melun, had like to have perished by the hand of these furies, whom the Jesuits and Capuchins had dispersed over all. Among other informations which were sent him upon this subject, he received advice, that one of these villains had set out from Lyons, with a resolution to come and attempt to assassinate him. † Fortunately, before he left Lyons, he declared his design, in confession to a priest; who, frightened at this frenzy, revealed it to a gentleman of Lyons. This gentleman posted away immediately to get to Melun before the murderer, and described him so exactly to the King, from the picture the priest had drawn of him, that he was known and seized amongst the

* Cayet, Chron. Noven. book 5. p. 280. speaks more positively of those conspiracies against the life of Henry IV. Marisot says, that a Flamand, named *Avenius*, came to St Denis with a design to stab this prince; but observing with what devotion he behaved at mass, he threw himself at his feet, and implored his pardon; but afterwards, resuming his first intention, he was broke upon the wheel in 1593. Chap. 33.

† See Davila, book 4.; Mem. of the league; De Thou, b. 107.; Mezeray, b. 62. &c. It is proper to observe here once for all, that when the Duke of Sully and other Calvinist writers throw out such imputations upon Villeroi, Jeannin, D'Ossat, and the Jesuits, it signifies no more, in the sense of the writers themselves, than that such a thing happened in consequence of the principles, writings, theses, preachings, the spirit, in a word, that actuated the league; and not that such a person or such a Jesuit was the author and mover of the action. See Cayet, b. 5, &c.

croud at Melun, confessed his crime, and received chastisement. The King was ashamed even for his enemies, who, by this wickedness, discovered so manifestly the bottom of their hearts. He found himself equally alarmed with all these attempts against his person, and tormented with the precautions he was obliged to take ; and often complained to me in the bitterest manner.

He had been happy, if the behaviour of the Catholics in his court had at least consoled him for that of the Catholics in the league. But the King's abjuration had produced no more change in them than the others ; and they thought they had no less right to subject him to all their caprices. They bore with impatience the King's not breaking off all commerce with his old Protestant servants, and openly murmured if he but conversed with any of them, especially with me. The apprehension of my bringing him back to his former belief, affected them much less than their suspicions that, in these conversations I had with the King, I should prevail upon him to rectify the abuses in the government, especially the disorder of the finances. Henry, who was not yet in a condition to speak as a master, had the complaisance to avoid all particular conversation with the Huguenots, resumed his conferences upon religion with the Catholics only, and continued them at Andresy and Milly*. I took this opportunity to ask the King's permission to go to Bontin, where I had grain to sell to the value of 5 or 6000 crowns. He granted it, and told me, that, at my return, he might perhaps see more

* And likewise at Pontoise and Fleury, a castle in Gatinois, belonging to Henry Clause, grand master of the forests and the waters. The Roman Catholics who were there, were, according to M. de Thou, Mess. de Schomberg, de Villeroi, de Belin, de Revol, Jeannin, and de Thou himself, who gives us also to understand, that they spoke more of politics than of religion.

clearly into his affairs, and be able to talk farther with me.

I came to Bontin, with my wife, at a time when grain bore a very high price. All the great cities, taking advantage of the truce, hastened to fill their magazines, whatever might happen, and paid for what they bought with the money which the Spaniards had scattered over all. Spanish pistoles were then so common, that commerce was generally carried on in that money.

I had scarce sold half of my grain, when a letter the King wrote to me from Fountainebleau obliged me to attend him. He had, in my absence, opened three letters directed to me, from which he could draw no intelligence, because two of them, one of which came from Madam de Simiers, sister to Vitry, and a great friend of Admiral Villars, and the other from La-Font, were written in cyphers; and all that the third, which came from a man named *Desportes*, of Verneuil, contained, was, that he had something to communicate to me relating to the proposal I made him in my abbey St Taurin of Evreux. The King, rigidly watched by the Catholics, could only give me those letters, with the contents of which I afterwards acquainted him. *Desportes* was the agent employed by the Baron de Medavy, to treat of an accommodation with him, and the surrender of Verneuil. The letter from Madam de Simiers, and that from La-Font, turned only upon some facilities which now presented themselves, to engage Villars in the King's interest. But affairs soon took another turn with regard to him: the loss of Fescamp so affected this governor, that, for this time, he broke off all accommodation. I was informed of it by new letters from Madam de Simiers and La-Font, in answer to mine, at the very moment when, by the King's command, I was preparing

preparing to go and confirm Villars in his good resolutions.

This was what had happened at Fescamp ; it is a stroke of hardiness that merits particular mention. When this fort was taken by Byron from the league, in the garrison that was turned out of it, there was a gentleman called *Bois-rosé*, a man of heart and of head, who remarked exactly the place out of which he was driven ; and taking his precautions deep, contrived to get two soldiers, whom he had gained, to be received into the new garrison which was put into Fescamp by the royalists. That side of the fort next the sea is a perpendicular rock six hundred feet high, the bottom of which, for about the height of twelve feet, is continually washed by the sea, except four or five days in the year, during the utmost recess of the sea, when, for the space of three or four hours, it leaves fifteen or twenty fathom of dry sand at the foot of the rock. *Bois-rosé*, who found it impossible by any other way to surprise a garrison, who guarded attentively a place lately taken, did not doubt of accomplishing his design, if he could enter by that side which was thought inaccessible. He thought no longer but how to render the thing possible ; and this was the expedient he took.

He had agreed upon a signal with the two soldiers whom he had corrupted, and one of them waited for it continually upon the top of the rock, where he posted himself during the whole time that it was low water. *Bois-rosé* taking the opportunity of a very dark night, came, with fifty resolute men, chosen for the purpose from amongst all the sailors, and landed with two sloops at the foot of the rock. He had provided himself with a thick cable, equal in length to the height of the rock, and tying knots at certain distances, run short sticks through, to serve to support them as they climbed. The soldier

dier whom he had gained, having waited six months for the signal, no sooner perceived it, than he let down a cord from the top of the precipice, to which those below fastened the cable, by which means it was wound up to the top, and made fast to an opening in the battlement with a strong crow run through an iron staple made for that purpose. Bois-rosé giving the lead to two serjeants, whose courage he was well convinced of, ordered the fifty soldiers to mount the ladder in the same manner, one after another, with their weapons tied round their bodies, himself bringing up the rear, to take away from the faint-hearted all hope of returning; which indeed soon became impossible; for before they had ascended half-way, the sea rising more than six feet, carried off their sloops, and set their cable a-floating. The necessity of extricating one's self from a difficult step is not always a security against fear, when there is so much cause for apprehension. Let one but represent to himself these fifty men, suspended between heaven and earth, in the midst of darkness, trusting solely to a machine so insecure, that the least want of caution, the treachery of a mercenary soldier, or the slightest fear, might precipitate them into the abyss of the sea, or dash them upon the rocks; add to this, the noise of the waves, the height of the rock, their lassitude and faintness; it will not appear surprising, that the most resolute of the troop should tremble, as, in effect, he who conducted them began to do. This serjeant telling the next man that he could mount no higher, and that his heart failed him, Bois-rosé, to whom this discourse passed from mouth to mouth, and who perceived the truth of it by their advancing no higher, took his measures without hesitation. He passed over the bodies of all the fifty that were before him, advising each to keep firm, and got up to the foremost, whom he attempted to re-
animate;

animate ; but finding that gentleness would not prevail, he obliged him to mount, by pricking him in the back with his poniard ; and, doubtless, if he had not obeyed him, he would have run him through, and precipitated him into the sea. At length, with incredible labour and fatigue, the whole troop got to the top of the rock, a little before the break of day, and was introduced by the two soldiers into the castle, where they began to slaughter without mercy the centinels and the whole guard : sleep delivered up almost all the garrison to the mercy of the enemy, who carried it with a high hand over all who resisted, and possessed themselves of the fort.

Bois-rosé immediately sent notice of this almost incredible success to Admiral Villars, and thought the government of the citadel he had so dearly bought was the least gratification he might expect. However, he heard that Villars, or rather the Commandeur de Grillon, had a design to drive him out of it. In the first transports of his rage for this injustice, he delivered the castle of Fescamp to the King, whose conversion he had just been informed of. Villars, at this news, broke off the negotiation which he had permitted Madam de Simiers and La-Font to carry on in his name, and sent forces to invest Fescamp. Bois-rosé, finding himself too weak to make a long resistance, called the King to his aid, who instantly set forward for Dieppe, and came to St Vallery in Caux. When this hostility broke out, the three months truce was expired ; but the King had been prevailed upon to prolong it for two or three months, upon the Duke of Maïenne's representation, that it was necessary he should have more time to settle an affair of such importance as his accommodation, and that of the league. He failed not to exclaim against this violation of the truce ; and sent the Count of Belin, governor of Paris, to the King, to complain of it. Belin came to St

Vallery, acquitted himself of his commission, and demanded a farther prolongation of the truce for three months; a time necessary for the Duke of Maïenne to make known his last intentions at Rome and Madrid, whither he had sent Cardinal de Joyeuse and Montpezat for that purpose. The King, who perceived he only wanted to amuse him, rejected the Count of Belin's proposals; and, without listening to any more complaints of the action, which his enemies had been the first cause of, marched directly to Fescamp, forced the troops of Villars to retire, and provided this fortress abundantly with all that was necessary for its security.

The King, at his return to Mante, being informed that the Marquis de Vitry was inclined to receive him into Meaux, to second the good intentions of this governor, he came to Lagny, where all was regulated in such a manner, that he made his public entry into Meaux* on the first day of the year 1594. La-Châtre immediately followed this example, with the cities of Orleans and Bourges.

The truce being at an end, the King laid siege to Ferté-Milon. I would have taken this opportunity to finish the business that had carried me to Bontin; but his Majesty commanded me to review some battalions of Swiss at Montereau. I sent to Madam de Rosny to meet me at this place, from whence I intended to carry her to Mante. She waited for me there in vain. Two days before that in which

* The Duke of Maïenne upbraiding Vitry for having betrayed him, in delivering the city of Meaux into the King's hands, Vitry said to his messenger, "You press me too much: you will at last make me speak as becomes a soldier. Suppose a thief had stolen a purse, and confided it to my care; if afterwards, coming to the knowledge of the right owner, I should restore it him, and refuse to give it back to the thief who had intrusted me with it, do you think I should commit a wicked and treasonable action? So it is in the affair of the city of Meaux." *Memoirs for the history of France, tom. 2.*

I was to review the Swifs, I received new difpatches from Madam de Simiers and La-Font, which informed me, that the man (meaning Villars) was appeafed, and that nothing hindered me from refuming the fcheme that had been laid afide. This affair the King thought of fuch importance, as not to admit of a moment's delay. The Count de Chaligny, juft then coming to the army with a paffport for Paris, intreated the King to fend a perfon whom he could depend upon, to conduct him to that city; and the King was willing that I fhould avail myfelf of this double occafion of learning more particularly the difpofitions of the Duke of Maïenne and the league, and of getting to Rouen fecurely.

I accompanied, therefore, the Count de Chaligny to Paris; from whence, after having an interview with the Duke of Maïenne, I went to Louviers, to the houfe of the Sieur de St Bonnet, about two leagues from Rouen: from this place I fent notice of my arrival to the intromitters: they came to fetch me the next evening, and introduced me into Fort St Catherine, where Capt. Boniface received and treated me magnificently, while we waited for Villars, who came at night, attended only by one fervant; I likewise having none but my valet de chambre with me. We did not part till after a converfation of two hours, which left me entirely fatisfied of the fentiments of this governor. Our interview was conducted with the utmoft fecrecy; for, befides that the governors of the principal royalift cities in the neighbourhood of Rouen would not have failed, either through jealousy or through intereft, to crofs the negotiation, and perhaps have done fomething worfe, as, in effect, they did, as foon as they had any fufpicion of the affair. There were in this province a great number of forces, as well foreigners as thofe belonging to the league, of which Villars was not entirely mafter,

and which might in a little time be joined by such considerable supplies, as to make him repent of his measures.

I staid five whole days in Fort St Catherine with the same privacy ; during which time I had several conferences with Villars, and entered upon the principal conditions of his accommodation. Interest was not here the greatest difficulty to get over ; he was less solicitous to gratify mercenary views, than to be convinced that the King, by treating with him, sought not only to gain the capital of a province, but to bind to his interests a man who manifested as great an inclination, as he had abilities, to serve him. It has been already observed, what idea Villars had conceived of the King. As soon as my discourse had confirmed him in it, I could perceive the treaty to be in great forwardness ; but I could not then go any farther, not having in writing the necessary powers for concluding the affair.

But to give a more perfect knowledge of this governor : All that you could see of him had a reference to one or other of two qualities that predominated in his character, or was produced by their mixture. These two qualities were valour and integrity. The first rendered his heart elevated and generous, full of a pride noble and natural *, which is nothing else but the sentiment of our worth ; a sentiment that has nothing of that pitiful vanity and affectation, by which one is lost in an overweening admiration of himself. The second makes a man sincere and ingenuous, incapable of artifice and of surprise, and ever disposed to submit to reason and to justice. He who unites both the two, has rarely any other fault than a hastiness in the first movements of anger.

* M. de Thou, speaking of Admiral de Villars, says, that he was of a haughty and overbearing spirit. *Book 103.*

Such was Villars : and what I have still to say concerning him will justify the truth of this character. Nature had not formed him to continue long an enemy to a prince with whom he had so great a conformity in his humour. The only difference between them was, that Henry, by continual reflections upon the effects of anger, by a habit acquired in a long course of adversity, by the necessity he was under of gaining friends ; and, finally, by the bent of his heart to tenderness, had converted these first transports, so vehement, into simple movements * discernible in his countenance, in his gesture, and but rarely in his words.

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* Here is an anecdote taken from the Memoirs of the life of the President de Thou, which proves what the author says here concerning the character of Henry IV. and which has also some relation to what had been said before upon the siege of Rouen. " One day that Grillon came into the King's closet, to excuse himself upon his being reproached, that his going backwards and forwards to treat with the Admiral, had afforded him the occasion and the means of making that furious sally which has been mentioned, he passed from excuses to confessions, and from confessions to transport and blasphemies. The King, being irritated at this behaviour, commanded him to go out ; but as Grillon was coming back every moment from the door, and they perceiving that the King grew pale with anger and impatience, they were afraid he would seize upon somebody's sword, and strike the fellow that was become so insolent. At last, being come to himself, after Grillon went out, and turning towards the Lords who attended him, and who, with De Thou, had admired the patience with which he bore such criminal brutality, he said to them, ' Nature has formed me passionate ; but since I have been sensible of this fault, I have always endeavoured to guard against the dictates of so dangerous a passion. I know by experience, that it is a bad counsellor, and am glad to have such good witnesses of my moderation.' " It is certain that his temperament, his continual fatigues, and the different situations of his life, had given him a firmness of soul, that was more proof against anger than against his passion for pleasure. It was remarked, that while Grillon was thus confessing with him, M. Biron, who was then in the King's room, sitting upon a trunk, pretended to be asleep ; and as the dispute grew warmer, his sleep became more profound ; though Grillon came near him in order to abuse him, and cried aloud in his ears, that he was a mangy snarl-

The King was just come to Chartres *, which place he had chosen † for the ceremony of his coronation, when I joined him, to give him an account of my journey, and to procure full powers. I had reckoned upon setting out again instantly, and little expected to be detained with him ten or twelve days, as I was. He was then endeavouring to reconcile the Count of Soissons and the Duke of Montpensier, whose enmity was first occasioned by some disputes relating to the prerogatives of their rank, as princes of the blood, and was afterwards exasperated by their competition for the same posts, the same governments, and, above all, for the same mistress, who was the Princess Catherine, sister to the King. The Duke of Montpensier had, without contradiction, the advantage in the good graces of the King, as well as in fortune; for he had immense estates; he appeared at the coronation with a train of 4 or 500 gentlemen, while his rival could with difficulty maintain ten or twelve: but poor as he was, without places, without governments, and disliked by the King ever since his escape from Rouen, he was superior in one point, he possessed the heart of the Princess, which nothing could alienate from him. The Countess of Guiche ‡ was

“ing dog. The company was persuaded, that the Marechal only
 “affected that deep sleep, that he might not expose himself to the
 “brutality of such a fiery hot-brained man; which he would have
 “been obliged to do, had he been ever so little awake. It was also
 “believed, that he was willing to leave the King all the fatigue of
 “the conversation.”

* Feb. 17. 1594.

† Against a frivolous decree of the states of Blois, which annuls the ceremony unless it is made in the city of Rheims. It was decided, that his Majesty should be crowned by Nicholas de Thou, Bishop of this city, and not by the Archbishop of Bourges, who claimed that honour as Lord Almoner; and that the *sainte ampoule*, or holy bottle, should be dispensed with. See this ceremony described in the historians.

‡ The same who had been mistress to Henry IV. but she was grown very fat, coarse, and red faced. *Journal of the reign of Henry III. tom. 1. p. 279.*

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the depository of their secrets, and their common messenger when they could not see each other. She had so well cultivated this attachment, that she had made them both sign a promise of marriage, which only the difficulty of the times hindered them from carrying into execution.

His Majesty was so passionately desirous of reconciling these two princes of the blood to each other, that this consideration superseded the treaty with Villars. He had no regard to my instances, nor to the danger which I made him see would attend the delaying it; I must determine to undertake this difficult reconciliation, conjointly with the Bishop of Evreux, whom he had at first pitched upon, but he found he was unable to succeed alone in so delicate an affair. It is true, I still preserved a great share of the Count's esteem; but I knew his haughty and disdainful spirit, and that the very fear of seeming to pay a deference to a rival who was his superior, would not only make him rigid in his pretensions, but perhaps induce him to form new ones. I will not tire the reader with a detail of the contestations, the refusals, and the sallies of ill humour which we had to undergo: we were more than once upon the point of abandoning the project. However, by the force of arguments, drawn from the will and the satisfaction of the King, with a good deal of patience, many intreaties, and much importunity, we prevailed upon the two princes to see and to embrace each other. I was not to answer for the heartiness of this reconciliation: the article of their passion for the Princess, and her marriage, which I carefully avoided mentioning, continued still undecided, left between them the principal seeds of division: but this I looked upon as an obstacle absolutely unsurmountable.

I was extremely well satisfied at having succeeded, without touching upon this article; and I now
saw

saw nothing to delay my journey to Rouen. I was not yet where I thought. The King's ardent desire to reconcile these princes, was with a view of attaining another end, which he still more passionately desired; and this second point was the very same that I thought I had so prudently shifted, the marriage of the Princess his sister. To crown all, I was the very person his Majesty fixed upon to accomplish this matter. I was therefore charged anew to get up the promise of marriage, which I have just mentioned; that, this obstacle being removed, the King, resolute to gratify to the full the Duke of Montpensier, might finally employ his authority to put the Princess into his possession, and by that means free himself from the apprehension of seeing a marriage concluded, which, though clandestinely, would be no less perplexing, since the Count of Soissons would become his heir, whether he consented to it or not, and make use of his own riches against him. If there were any children of this marriage, a thing hardly to be doubted, it would give his Majesty, who had none, another cause for uneasiness.

I trembled when I received the King's order for this purpose. I would have represented to him, that Villars would certainly engage himself in the enemy's party for ever, as would also Medavy, and several other governors in Normandy, unless I went immediately to all those places. It was a thing resolved upon; the King would not hear me, and only granted me what I demanded of him to be able to succeed; which was, that he would give no suspicion of my being charged with this employment, and that he would leave me to make choice of the means.

When I was alone, and had reflected upon the commission which I had received, I confess I found myself in the utmost perplexity. From the know-
ledge

ledge I had of the Princess Catherine's humour, from whom I must wring this writing, I was convinced it was not in the power of human eloquence to make her relish the King's designs with respect to her person. What likelihood was there of persuading a woman, and a princess, to renounce the man she loved, and bestow herself upon one whom she hated? There was no probability of succeeding but by artifice. For this I said to myself, What though in deceiving her I consult not her heart, at least I consult her interest, and divert the misfortunes which the irregularity of her conduct might bring upon the King and the kingdom. I flattered myself, that the Princess would one day think herself obliged to me for having, by an innocent stratagem, hindered her from losing her fortune, together with the friendship of the King her brother. Specious as these reasons were, I cannot help confessing, that I did betray her; and this reflection gave me pain. The impossibility of succeeding by any other means, and the hope that even she would one day pardon me, and confess that I had done her a real service by it, finally determined me. As for the Count, having no occasion to make any application to him, and being likewise but little attached to him, the respect that was due to his person ought to be laid aside, when it opposed the public utility, and what the service of the King my master exacted of me. The whole of this affair was, in the issue, productive of disquietudes to me, from which, doubtless, my scruples and reluctance ought to have preserved me.

There was still another difficulty to be removed. I saw the Princess very rarely, because of my continual occupations; and I knew her sufficiently, not to doubt, but that whatever measures I made use of to obtain the contract in question, my unusual assiduity would, in a mind naturally distrustful,
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create suspicions which would guard her against all I could say, or get others to say to her. I therefore endeavoured to act in such a manner, that she should prevent me herself. For this purpose, I made use of the two Du-Perrons, who I knew (especially the youngest) were of a humour to make their court to the great, at the expence of a secret. I was most intimate with the Bishop of Evreux, the eldest: but one risks nothing in reckoning upon the good opinion all men have of their own merit: on this article they begin with being dupes to themselves. I went, therefore, to visit the younger Du-Perron. I flattered him; I insinuated myself into his favour, by feigning to impart secrets to him. He regarded himself as an important man, and, through vanity, believed every word I said to him. When I perceived him intoxicated with self love, I told him (with all the marks of the most perfect sincerity, and even exacting an oath of secrecy from him, which I should have been very sorry if he had kept), that the King had imparted to me in confidence his intentions with regard to the Princess; that he was resolved to make her marry the Count; and that some little difficulties which still remained to be got over, prevented his Majesty from publicly declaring his determination. I was assured two days only would be sufficient for Du-Perron to get rid of a secret so weighty, in such a manner that it would reach the Princess Catherine. Accordingly, he imparted it, almost in a moment, as a profound secret, to M. de Courtenai, and two other of the Count of Soisson's most intimate confidants, to whom they ran to communicate it, as he also did to the Princess and to the Countess of Guiche.

I reckoned the Princess, flattered with an hope so agreeable, would make me the first advances; and I was not mistaken. Going to take leave of her, as a man just ready to undertake a long journey,

ney, I had a complete proof of Du-Perron's fidelity. The Princess added considerably to the distinction with which she ordinarily received me ; and the Countess of Guiche, unwilling to lose so favourable an opportunity, after some conversation upon indifferent matters, made haste to bring upon the carpet the amours of the Princess and the Count, who was also present, and embracing me in a transport of friendship, " See," said she to the lovers, " a man who is able to serve you in your designs." The Princess then addressing herself to me, told me, that I knew the Count and her had always esteemed me greatly ; and that she would be sensibly obliged to me, if I would assist her endeavours to restore herself to the good graces of the King her brother. She spoke only these few words, and left the care of saying more to that insinuating and gracious air, which she knew better than any other woman in the world how to assume when she pleased. I seemed to be gained ; and, after thanking the Princess for the honour she did me, I added, that if I could depend upon the discretion of all who heard me, I would inform them of many things which would not be indifferent to them. Women make nothing of promises of secrecy, accused as they are of keeping them badly. They promised, they added an oath, and superadded a thousand ; but I had no mind to open myself farther at that time. I asked them for three days delay : they assisted me in finding an excuse for deferring my journey to Rouen ; and I took leave of the company, who impatiently expected the time I had marked.

I returned punctually at the end of three days. I suffered myself to be pressed a long time ; at last, seeming to yield to the importunity of the two ladies, I told them, that having several times sounded the King upon the marriage in question, he at first shewed some reluctance to it, without caring to explain

plain himself farther ; but my earnest intreaties had at length prevailed upon him to open his heart to me upon this subject ; and he confessed, that, far from feeling any repugnance to conclude this union, he thought it a very proper one ; and that since he had no issue of his own, he should be overjoyed to see the offspring of his sister and a prince of his blood, whom he would look upon as his own children : that the sweet and peaceable dispositions of the Count of Soissons and the Princess were greatly to his taste ; but that he always felt it would be very difficult to forget, that the Count had sought to deceive him, and to obtain his sister without his consent. This speech, every word of which I had preconcerted, produced its effect. All the three began to confess, that they might have acted otherwise, and to condemn one another for having conducted the affair with so much independence. This was what I waited for : I seized this opportunity to convince them, that I believed the evil might be very easily remedied ; that the King was naturally kind, and easily forgot past injuries ; all that was now necessary to be done, was to behave in a quite contrary manner, to solicit his favour, to seem absolutely dependent upon him, and to leave him master of their persons ; in fine, (and this was the grand point), to sacrifice to him the written engagement they had mutually given, as being that by which he had most of all been exasperated ; and not to fear giving him even a declaration in writing, in which they should both bind themselves not to marry without his consent : after this condescension upon their part, I believed I could assure them, that in less than three months, the King would himself prevent their desires, and cement their union.

I found no difficulty in gaining credit ; and that very instant they promised to sacrifice the contract
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of marriage, possibly because they thought it would be of no use to them, if the King, when become absolute master in his kingdom, should not agree to it. The Countess of Guiche said she had left it at Bearn, but would send for it immediately. They did not so easily submit to the declaration I demanded afterwards, and without which their resigning the contract signified nothing, which the parties interested might renew at pleasure. This was the very argument which I urged successfully, and by which I convinced them, that, without this, the King could neither depend upon their sincerity, nor be assured of their obedience. This article was strongly debated; and when at last, by the force of remonstrances, I had obtained a writing, by which the Princess and the Count disannulled all promises that had passed between them, released each other mutually from all engagements, and submitted themselves absolutely to the King's disposal; the consequences of this writing alarmed them, and they had recourse to a medium, without which it is probable the affair had rested here. This medium was, that I only should be intrusted with it, and should not suffer it to go out of my hands, not even to pass into those of the King. Luckily they did not add, that it should be returned to the Princess, if matters turned out otherwise than was expected. I gave my parole of honour; with which they were contented; and the writing was delivered to me in form, signed by the Princess and the Count, and sealed with their arms. The King's joy for my success, which he durst hardly flatter himself with the hopes of, was considerably less, when he found the writing was to remain in my hands. He often intreated me earnestly to give it him; but finding, by my persisting to refuse him, that the obedience I owed him could not influence me to a breach of my promise, he no longer in-

sisted. The two lovers seeing the agreeable hopes I had given them still unaccomplished, could not, as it may well be imagined, pardon me the imposition I had put upon them. The sequel of these Memoirs will shew it.

After the conclusion of this affair, the remembrance of which was always disagreeable to me, I was wholly employed in preparing for my journey to Rouen. I was apprehensive, and not without reason, that so long a delay had absolutely broke all my first measures with Admiral Villars. I obtained a *cart blanche* * from the King, to conclude a treaty, not only with this governor, but also with all the other governors and officers of the province. Just as I was going to set out, Desportes arrived, and stopped me once more. He was sent by the Baron de Medavy to the Bishop of Evreux, to desire that he would lend him his house of Condé for a little time; and also prevail upon me to come thither, that he might confer with me upon the conditions of his treaty, and that of Verneuil. I left Chartres, and came in the evening to Anet, Madam d'Aumale having long solicited me strongly to visit her there.

This lady, who had more understanding and prudence than her husband, conjured him incessantly to break with the league, and resign himself to the King. She was sensible, that not only his duty and security required that he should take this step, but his interest likewise; for the Duke d'Aumale's domestic affairs were in such disorder, that there was no other way to avoid approaching ruin, but by being among the first who should avail himself of the advantages which they might obtain, who upon

* The present Duke of Sully has the original of this full power in his possession, as likewise many of the originals of Maximilian de Bethune's letters upon this subject.

this occasion were most forward in returning to their duty. I alighted at an inn in Anet; and while my supper was preparing, went to wait upon Madam d'Aumale, attended only by a single page. To the joy that animated the countenance of this lady the moment she perceived me, she added all the graces of a friendly reception; and that she might not waste moments so precious, took my hand, and made me run over with her those fine galleries and gardens which make Anet a most enchanting place. Here she expressed to me her earnest desire to have her husband return to the obedience due to his sovereign, and named the conditions upon which he might be induced to consent to it. I omit all the propositions, either approved or rejected, that passed between us. Hitherto I had seen nothing but what did honour to the master of a house truly royal; and I should have been ignorant of the deplorable state to which the Duke was reduced, if she had not intreated, and even forced me, to sup with her, and to stay there all night. After a repast, which we waited for a long time, and as ill served, I was conducted into a vast chamber, all shining with marble, but so naked, and so cold, that I could neither get heat nor sleep, in a bed where the short narrow silk curtains, a single slight coverlid, and damp sheets, were sufficient to benumb one, even in the midst of summer. Not able to continue in bed, I rose, and thought to secure myself against the inconveniencies of my damp lodging by making a fire; but I could find no other wood to burn than green holm and juniper, which it was impossible to kindle. I was obliged, therefore, to wear my gown the whole night; by which means I was very early awake; and joyfully quitting so disagreeable a lodging, I went to join my attendants, the meanest of whom

had fared better, and passed the night more comfortably, than their master.

I made myself amends for this fatigue at Condé, where I found every conveniency essential to good reception. As soon as I arrived, I got into a good bed, Medavy not being expected till noon. At first he regulated his behaviour according to that notion, that in such a conjuncture as the present, the most inconsiderable nobleman has a right to set a value upon himself ten times above his worth. He performed his part perfectly well, by an air of false distrust, and an affected superiority, which he imagined would greatly advance his affairs. I contrasted his vanity with a frankness that brought him down, and told him very simply, that if he waited till the great cities came to an accommodation, he, who had only Verneuil to offer, his sacrifice would immediately lose above the half of its value; and that afterwards, perhaps, his proposals would not be even regarded, or any thing granted of all that he might demand. My sincerity forced him to be candid likewise; he appeared more reasonable, and we soon agreed: he only intreated me not to make the affair public till the end of March, because he had engaged to Villars to do nothing without his participation. He sent Desportes with me to Rouen, to pay this compliment to the governor, and to observe, at the same time, whether I concluded the treaty with Villars, whose accommodation drew his along with it, and in some measure necessarily.

I came to Louviers the next day; from whence making known my arrival to Admiral Villars, he sent the captain of his guards to receive me at the gate of the city. I did not enter secretly as before, but publicly, and with a kind of pomp. The streets were filled with the people; and the hopes of a peace, by which tranquillity and commerce would be restored, drew a thousand acclamations of joy from

from them as I passed. Villars had caused the finest house in Rouen to be prepared for the reception of me and my train, which consisted of twelve or fifteen gentlemen, and had given all the necessary orders for treating us magnificently. La-Font, who had the care of my reception, waited to conduct me thither : he outdid his master, and at night gave me the music, and the diversion of dancers and jugglers, whom I could not prevail upon to receive either money or presents. I sent Du-Perat to make my compliments to the Admiral, Madam de Simiers, and the Abbé de Tiron, who had a great share in the management of this affair : they instantly returned me the same civility by the Sieur de Perdriel, and desired him to tell me, that after I had reposed myself this day, we should enter upon business the next. This, however, did not hinder the Abbot from visiting me in the evening, without ceremony. Indeed, his whole conduct upon this occasion discovered a degree of rectitude and sincerity rarely to be found in such conjunctures.

I found by his discourse, that the King had been within a very little of losing Villars irretrievably. A deputy from Spain, named *Don Simon Antonio*, and another called *Chapelle Marteau*, from the Duke of Maienne, came to Rouen some time before my arrival, and had made very advantageous proposals to this governor ; he had likewise daily received letters from the Catholics, even those in the King's party, which tended to render him suspicious of his Majesty's designs, and to prejudice him against a negotiation conducted by a Protestant agent. This argument had great weight with Villars, always zealous for his religion, and would have infallibly determined him for the enemy's party, if, in this perplexity, his mind had not been balanced by other letters from the Cardinal of

Bourbon, the Bishop of Evreux, and the Marquis of Vitry, who all assured him he might depend upon the King's word, and my sincerity. Tiron shewed me part of each of these letters, and thought it necessary to warn me, that as the Admiral had been perpetually beset by deputies of the league, and offended likewise at the delays that had been used with him, I must not expect to vanquish his irresolution, without suffering some of those sallies of rage, so natural to him, and which, with a little patience, it was easy to allay.

I went to wait on Villars *, well prepared to sustain all these little assaults ; and at first perceived plainly, that the sight of me awakened some remains of distrust and anger in his mind. My behaviour soon dissipated this cloud, and he with great calmness and serenity proposed his conditions, which were comprised under the following heads : That he should continue still in his post of Admiral, which had been bestowed on him by the league ; and in his government of Rouen possess a power independent of the Duke of Montpensier, governor of that province, at least for three years ; and that this power should extend over the bailiwicks of Rouen and of Caux : That the exercise of the Protestant religion should not be allowed in this capital, nor six leagues around it : That all the officers posted by the league in the cities belonging to his government should be continued there, with 1500 foot and 300 horse, to be maintained by the King for the security of those same cities : That his Majesty should give him the sum of 120,000 livres to

* M. de Villars, in the Memoirs of those times, is represented as a man extremely fierce and passionate. It is there observed, that the Baron de Rosny was the only one that could succeed in these negotiations. *Memoirs for the history of France*, vol. 2. These negotiations of the Baron de Rosny are also commended by M. de Thou, book 109.

pay his debts, and a pension of 60,000 : That Fescamp should be delivered to him : and, in fine, That he should have the disposal of the abbeys of Jumiéges, Tiron, Bonport, La-Valaise, Saint-Taurin, and that of Montivilliers, which he designed for a sister of Madam de Simiers.

If all these articles had as much depended upon me as that relating to the abbey of Saint-Taurin, which was my own, and which I immediately yielded to Villars, the treaty had been concluded without further delay ; and this I assured him of, with regard to those wherein the King was absolute master. But whatever power I had received from his Majesty, I could do nothing in those articles which regarded the Duke of Montpensier, and Biron, who was invested with the post of Admiral, and in possession of Fescamp, which he had got from Bois-rosé, on a promise of indemnification, that had not yet been fulfilled ; and I did not think I had a right to settle this affair without informing the King of it. As I did not hesitate upon any of those conditions which depended immediately upon the King, I expected that Villars would have been satisfied with my conduct ; but this governor going out with the deputies from the league, at the very moment that I was endeavouring to make him comprehend my reasons, he interrupted me hastily with these few words, pronounced in a very passionate tone : “ That I might spare myself the trouble of talking to him more, since he was determined either to agree upon all, or break off all, upon the spot.”

Although I was a little stunned with this unforeseen blow, I answered Villars calmly, that I was persuaded the King would grant him the three articles in question, as well as all the others, (that of Fescamp making two, because Bois-rosé was concerned in it) : That this needed not hinder us from
drawing

drawing up the treaty, and even signing it that moment, as if every thing was agreed to, only with a postil in the margin over against the three articles, that we waited an answer from the King. And to convince him that I sought not to gain time, in order to betray him afterwards, I offered to remain in his power as an hostage, till his Majesty returned an answer. Villars still found difficulties ; but he could not resist Madam de Simiers, the Abbot de Tiron, and La-Font, who all supported my arguments. I had the treaty drawn up in haste ; we signed it ; and I sent a copy of it immediately to the King, with a long letter, in which I gave him an account of all that had passed. But before the answer could be brought to Rouen, another incident happened, which we imagined would have rendered it useless.

Most of the governors of the small forts in the neighbourhood of Rouen, far from returning to the obedience they owed their King, persisted in their revolt ; because, in the present confused state of affairs, they acquired gains, which they foresaw would cease with the war. The most artful among them made themselves equally necessary to the two parties, and exacted bribes from both. Du-Rollet, governor of Pont de l'Arche, was one of those who played this game with the greatest subtilty. He had, for more than a year, flattered the King with hopes that he would fall upon means to deliver the city of Rouen and its governor into his hands, provided he would give the government of this place to him ; of which his Majesty, at a venture, gave him a written promise. Du-Rollet failing in an enterprize which exceeded his abilities, took it into his head to frustrate my negotiation, which he attempted in this manner.

He commanded a captain named *Dupré* to mingle with my train as I passed through Pont de l'Arche, and to enter Rouen with me. I had been informed,

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ed, that Du-Rollet was not very well affected; but I had no reason to suspect this captain of having any bad designs; nor could I hinder him from following me. I was likewise absolutely ignorant of this Dupré's being the very same person who had been employed by Du-Rollet before to cabal against Villars in Rouen*. He was no sooner entered, than, renewing his former acquaintance, he put himself at the head of a party of fool-hardy persons, with whom he laid a plot to seize the old palace, and secure the governor's person; persuading them that he acted thus by my orders. As he had no other design than to alarm the governor, and to inspire him with the utmost detestation of me, he was not at much trouble to keep the affair secret. In effect, Villars was informed of it immediately.

The excess of anger this news threw him into, and the injurious thoughts it inspired him with against the King, and especially me, may be easily imagined. Convinced that he had now an uncontestable proof of my treachery, he would not examine the matter any further, but sent D'Infencourt to me that moment to desire I would come to him. I had dined that day with La-Pile, attorney general of the chamber of accounts, and had just received letters which put me into very good humour. The King granted Villars the three articles which had been left undecided, and engaged himself to procure the consent of the parties concerned. Over against these articles, I had written upon the margin of the original treaty, which I had carried with me, *Granted by his Majesty's order*. I promised myself great pleasure in thus surprising Villars, who

* During the siege of Rouen, Du-Rollet seeking to throw himself into that city, was taken and shut up in the old castle; where, however, it is probable, he still continued to carry on intrigues for the King's interest. *Coyet, b. 4. p. 14.*

could not expect such a quick dispatch ; and went out of La-Pile's house with the treaty in one hand, holding a white scarf which I had put into my pocket in the other, intending to throw it about Villars's neck, and embracing him, to salute him Admiral and Governor of the districts of Rouen and Caux. The contrariety of reflections that employed our minds as we advanced to meet one another, had, I believe, something in it singular.

I did not long keep my smiling air ; for Villars perceiving me at a distance, came towards me with hasty strides, his face swelled and inflamed, his eyes sparkling, and all his features expressive of the most violent anger. He began by snatching the paper out of my hand, without giving me time to open my mouth ; and, with a voice so altered by this inward agitation that it was scarcely articulate, he stammered out these words, too singular not to be related in the original.

“ So, Sir, where, in the devil's name, are you going, so airy, and so full of mirth ? By heavens, you are not yet where you imagine, and, before the game is ended, you may not perhaps be laughing to yourself, at least if I treat you as you deserve. You are out in your reckoning, you and your King of Navarre also ; for, by my soul, he has got a — in the basket, and if he can find no other footman than Villars, take my word he shall be badly served.” Saying this, he tore the treaty in a thousand pieces, and threw them into the fire at the same instant. Having given the reins to his fury, he added an infinite number of invectives in the same tone, as vague, and well supported with oaths, of which his fury was an inexhaustible source.

That I suffered him to go on thus, without interruption, was at first owing to my astonishment, through necessity, and afterwards to reflection : these
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sorts of dispositions will not be contradicted. At length he stopt of himself, and fell to traversing his chamber, which was very long and wide, like a man out of his senses. "Well, Sir," said I, when I found he was silent, without seeming moved by all I had heard, "have you done yet talking injuriously and at random? You have reason to be satisfied at having thus behaved like a madman, without being contradicted in your extravagancies." Perceiving that the calm tone in which I spoke to him, obliged him, in spite of himself, to listen to me, I proceeded to tell him, that what he had just done in my presence, appeared to be nothing but an artifice he had conceived to retract the word he had solemnly given; but that this fetch would always dishonour him, and greatly lessen my opinion of his wisdom and integrity. "'Sdeath," cried he, stopping short, "it has not yet befallen me, it never shall befall me. I am too much a man of honour; such breaches of faith are only fit for those who betray their friends, and endeavour to get them assassinated." Hitherto he had said nothing so positive as this last word, by which, though I could not comprehend it, I began to be able to conjecture from whence such a transport of fury proceeded.

I asked him to explain himself, and protested to him, with that air of sincerity and confidence which makes itself felt even by the most prejudiced, that I was absolutely ignorant of his meaning; and that if I could be convicted of the slightest insincerity, I was ready to deliver myself into his hands, without desiring either pardon or favour. Thus obliging him to be more explicit, he reproached me with having employed Dupré to assassinate him, and to seize upon the old palace. The violence of his agitation not permitting him to speak otherwise than in broken and interrupted sentences, the affair

fair appeared to me devoid of all probability, and I could not hinder myself from entertaining suspicions of his sincerity, nor from telling him, that he had been seduced by Spanish pistoles to contrive such a frivolous pretence for breaking with me. "Who I!" cried he, relapsing again into a rage, "'Sdeath, must I confess that I have acted treacherously with you, and broke my oath? I would rather die than be guilty of such baseness." "By heaven, Sir," answered I, "for you teach me to swear, it is only by your fulfilling or breaking off the treaty, that I shall know whether to believe you an honest or a perjured man."

The eclairsissement was still protracted, and became worse instead of better, in proportion as anger got an ascendant over us. Very seasonably, during this contestation, the Abbot de Tiron came in, and entering immediately into the occasion of our quarrel, brought us nearer to one another. "Depend upon it, Sir," said he to Villars, "the Baron de Rosny is not capable of the designs that have been projected against you; he is a man of too much honour, and, in such a case, too prudent, to throw himself into your power."

These words began to open my eyes. I turned calmly towards Villars, telling him, that I was convinced anger alone dictated all that he had said; and that I expected, as soon as it was allayed, he would do me justice against himself, for all the injurious things which had escaped him, and that he would make good his former stipulation. "Well, Sir," said he, already half pacified, "I will keep my word: but take care also not to fail of your's, with regard to the three articles yet undetermined." I answered, That if it had not been for his fury, which made him throw the treaty into the fire, he might have seen that the King had consented to them all three.

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We were upon these terms when Madam de Simiers was introduced. "Don't be angry with me," Madam," said he, as he went to receive her, with a serene countenance, and even smiling, "all is over, we are good friends again; but, by heaven, the traitor who made all this mischief shall die before I eat or drink." He kept his word; for causing Dupré to be brought before him, after he had confessed the whole affair, he ordered him, without the formality of a trial, to be hung up at a window.

Villars intreated me afterwards to shew him the King's letter. I did not scruple to tell him, that his Majesty's secrets ought only to be communicated to his declared servants. To make Villars of this number, nothing more was necessary but to draw up the treaty again; which we signed, and of which each of us kept a duplicate. We agreed only, that the affair should remain a secret for some time, on account of the league and the Spaniards; against whom this governor took new measures, by reinforcing the troops he had in Rouen. After this, I no longer made any difficulty in shewing him all my letters, as well those which I had written to and received from the King before, as that in which I informed him of the ratification of the treaty, and his Majesty's answer to it. The courier who carried these last dispatches was not more than four days on his journey.

These letters gave infinite satisfaction to Villars, particularly the last, written with the King's own hand. His Majesty, in that, thanked me, more like a friend than a sovereign, for the service I had just done him, and concluded with these words: "Come to me at Senlis on the 20th of March, or at St Denis on the 21st, that you may help to cry, *Long live the King*, in Paris; and afterwards we will do the same at Rouen:" (for I wrote to

him, that his presence there was necessary). "Shew
" this letter," added he, "to the new friend you
" have acquired me, that he may see I recommend
" myself to him, that he may know I love him
" well, and that I know how to prize and reward
" such brave men as he is." "By heaven," said
Villars, at this place, "this prince is too gracious
" and too obliging to remember me, and speak of
" me in such high terms." From that moment,
Villars continued firm in his obedience and affection to the King: nor had his Majesty, amongst his most ancient servants, one more absolutely devoted to his interests. He desired me to be satisfied with his word for the execution of all the articles comprehended in the treaty, and I accepted it as the best security he could give me.

The remainder of the time that I staid in Rouen, was employed in regulating some affairs of the same nature. I spent the day with the Admiral, and shut myself up at night, to give audience to the principal officers, as well of the city, and of the parliament, as of the army, scattered throughout the province, who came to me privately to concert measures for disuniting the league. Medavy was of this number, and I concluded the treaty with him. Verneuil not being a city of such importance as to make it necessary to use the same precautions with it as with Rouen, the King ordered Medavy to publish his treaty, for an example to other governors.

As I was solicitous not to neglect meeting his Majesty at the place he had appointed me, I made haste to leave Rouen, overloaded with the thanks and civilities of the governor. I parted with the same satisfaction from the Abbot de Tiron, and Madam de Simiers. I promised them to return in a little, and assured Madam de Simiers, I would bring her brother, the Marquis de Vitry, along with me,
with

with a body of troops sufficient to put Villars into a condition to explain himself without fear. The obligations I owed to them were great enough to demand this service of me, although his Majesty's interest had not been an additional motive to it.

It was upon some correspondences the King carried on in Paris, that he founded his hopes of being soon admitted there ; and he was on his way thither from St Denis when I joined him. His party in that city was so well formed, and so many persons of equal courage and fidelity had joined, that it was in a manner impossible that it should not succeed. Ever since the battle of Arques, where, as has been seen, the Count de Belin was taken prisoner, he had been convinced, from his own experience, of the great qualities of the King, and the weakness of his enemies ; and the Duke of Maienne had perceived, that the inclinations of this governor leaned secretly towards the King. Upon this suspicion, he did not hesitate about depriving him* of the government of a city so considerable to the party as was that of Paris, and seeking for a man of known fidelity to himself and to the league, who could be intrusted with the care of this great city, at a time when the necessity of his affairs obliged him to repair to the frontiers of Picardy ; accordingly, he had fixed upon Brissac, whom he gratified with this government.

He answered his expectations perfectly in the beginning. The study of the Roman history had inspired this officer (who valued himself greatly upon his penetration and judgment) with a very singular project, which was, to erect France into a republic, and to render Paris the capital of this new state,

* The parliament upon this occasion made a decree, highly honourable for the Count of Belin. The citizens are there exhorted rather to partake than suffer his banishment from the city. *Memoirs for the history of France*, vol. 2. *Memoirs of the league*, vol. 6.

upon the model of ancient Rome. Had Brissac descended ever so little from this high speculation to particular circumstances, which, in the greatest designs, it is necessary to have a regard to, he had seen that there are conjunctures when the happiest projects become equally chimerical and impossible, by the nature of obstacles, by the difference of geniuses, and of the characters of nations, by the spirit of the laws which they have adopted, and by inveterate custom, which, as it were, stamps the last seal upon all. Time only, and long experience, can remedy the defects in the customs of a state whose form is already decided; and this ought always to be attempted upon the plan of its original constitution *. This is so true, that whenever we see a state conducted by measures contrary to those of its establishment, we may be assured a great revolution is at hand. Moreover, the application of the most effectual remedies does not operate upon the diseased who refuse to receive them.

Brissac went not so far: he could not for a long time comprehend, from whence the general opposition his designs met with proceeded; for he had opened himself freely to the nobles and all the chief partizans of the league: at last he began to be apprehensive for his own safety, lest while, without a second, he was labouring to bring his project to perfection, the King should frustrate it by seizing his capital. This fear made him very readily fall from ideas purely Roman to the French spirit of those times, which was, to be solicitous only for his own advantage. When a predominant prin-

* The sense in which the Duke of Sully understands this maxim, and the true one in which it ought to be taken, is, that the ancient forms and fundamental principles of government are to be varied from as little as possible. He does not mean, that we are to admit the abuses which ignorance or necessity have introduced in the different institutions relating to the finances, politics, &c. He will treat this subject more largely in the sequel of these Memoirs.

ciple of interest is yet farther fortified by the apprehension of any danger, there is scarce a man who may not be induced to betray even his best friend. Thus Brissac * acted : he resumed the design of the Count de Belin, but from a motive far less noble ; and thought of nothing but of making the King purchase, at the highest price, the treachery he meditated against the Duke of Maïenne in his absence. St Luc, his brother-in-law, was employed to negotiate with the King ; and having procured very advantageous conditions, Brissac agreed to admit Henry with his army into Paris, in spite of the Spaniards. The troops of the league were absolutely at his disposal, and there was no longer occasion for violent measures with the people.

D'O † was forward enough in his applications for the government of Paris, and of the isle of France, and obtained his request. There was here a conflict of interest which perplexed this superintendant to such a degree, that, notwithstanding his new dignity, the reduction of Paris was one of the things in the world he most feared to see happen. According as he gave it out, this fear had no other motive, but that of seeing the finances become a prey to the men of the sword and the gown, by whom, he said, the King, as soon as he was possessed of Paris, would be oppressed, for the payment of pensions, appointments, and gratifications. But this discourse deceived only those who were ignorant of the advantage he found in keeping things in their first confusion, and who knew not

* The Duke of Maïenne, as De Thou observes, was informed of Brissac's treachery by the Duchess of Guise, his mother ; but he would not believe her. Consult upon this reduction of the city of Paris, Matthieu, vol. 2. b. 1. p. 174. ; Chron. Noven. b. 6. p. 334 ; and other historians.

† Our Memoirs make no mention of M. D'O's being deprived by the league of this government, which Henry III. had bestowed upon him. *Prefixe, part 2.*

with what success he had hitherto laboured for that purpose.

The King put all the friends of the Count of Belin in motion, on whom he had no less dependence than upon Brissac; and at five o'clock in the morning * presented himself, at the head of 8000 men, before Porte Neuve, where the Mayor of Paris †, and the other magistrates, received him in form. He went immediately and took possession of the Louvre, the palace, the Great and Little Châtelet; and finding no where any opposition, he proceeded even to Notre Dame, which he entered to return thanks to God. His soldiers, on their side, fulfilled with such exactness the orders and intentions of their master ‡, that no one, throughout all this great city, complained of the slightest violence upon their part. They took possession of all the squares and cross-ways in the streets, where they drew up in order of battle. There was not the least commotion; and from that very day, the

* March 22.

† This mayor of Paris was John L'Huillier, who when Brissac said to him, "We must render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," he replied, "We must render them indeed, but not sell them to him." F. L'Etoile's journal ascribes this bon mot to Henry IV. L'Huillier was rewarded with the post of President of the chamber of accounts, and Counsellor of state; and Martin L'Anglois, an alderman, was made mayor of Paris in his room. *Le Grain*, b. 6. It is observed, in the volume of MSS marked 9033. in the King's library, that Henry IV. entering Paris by the new gate, which has been since called the *gate of the conference*, he went out again, and returned several times, fearing, notwithstanding the repeated assurances of the mayor and aldermen, that, by permitting his troops to enter Paris, their design was to cut them in pieces, and seize his person.

‡ The King perceiving a soldier take a loaf from a baker by force, ran to him, and would have killed him. *L'Etoile's journal*. Perefine says, that La-Nouë being arrested for debts which his father contracted in this prince's service, complained to him of that insolence. The King, in public, said to him, "La-Nouë, you must pay your debts, I pay mine faithfully;" but afterwards taking him aside, he gave him his jewels to pawn to the creditors, instead of the baggage they had seized of his. *Pref. part 2.*

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shops were opened with all the security which a long continued peace could have given.

The Spaniards had now only the Bastile, the Temple, and the quarters of St Anthony and St Martin in their possession; and there they fortified themselves, being about 4000 in number, with the Duke de Feria, and Don Diego d'Evora at their head; all greatly astonished at such unexpected news*; and firmly resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, if any attempts were made to force them from those advantageous posts. The King relieved them from their perplexity, by sending to tell them, that they might leave Paris, and retreat in perfect assurance. He treated the Cardinals of Placentia and Pellevé with the same gentleness, notwithstanding the resentment he still retained for their conduct with regard to him. Soissons was the place whither these enemies of the King † retired, under favour of a strong escort. His Majesty then published a general pardon ‡ for all the French who had borne arms against him. When this sacrifice is not extorted by necessity, but, on the contrary, made at a time when vengeance has full liberty to satiate itself, it is not one of the least

* L'Etoile observes, that this news being brought to the Spaniards while Langlois was amusing them with relating circumstances out of the Roman history, the Duke of Feria cried out two or three times, "Ah, great King, great King!" *L'Etoile's journal.*

† The King had a mind to see them march out, and looked at them from a window over St Denis's gate. They all saluted him with their hats off, bowing profoundly low. The King, with great courtesy, returned the salute to the principal officers, adding these words, "Remember me to your master; go in a good hour, but return no more." *Peref. part 2.* This anecdote agrees with that in the Memoirs for the history of France, but is contradicted by the Journal written by the same author.

‡ All the Memoirs of those times are filled with instances of Henry's clemency, and his lively and agreeable repartees. See the Memoirs above cited. A leaguer coming to him one day when he was playing at Primero, "You are welcome," said the King to him; "for if we win, you will be ours." *Le Grain, book 10.*

marks of a truly royal heart. Madam de Montpensier being introduced to the King, he received her as politely, and conversed as familiarly with her, as if he had some very important reason for sparing her the confusion with which any other person in his situation would have taken pleasure to cover her*.

The King had not yet found an opportunity to converse with me upon the negotiations of Rouen; therefore that evening, when the croud was over, he took me aside to a window in the Louvre, and made me give him a circumstantial relation of all that had passed, even to the minutest incidents; to which he listened with a good deal of attention. He accused himself of being the cause of Du-Rollet's unseasonable interference, by not acquainting me with the proposals he had made him, which would have put me upon my guard against all that could have happened from that quarter.

The King had not yet mentioned to the Duke of Montpensier, or the Baron de Biron, the conditions which, at their expence, he had granted to Admiral Villars: and this was now all that perplexed him; for he conducted himself by quite different maxims from those princes, who, in such cases, instead of prudent demeanor and condescension, be-

* Perefixe observes, that he played at cards with her that very evening. L'Etoile adds, that he returned both her's and Madam de Nemours's visit; and relates a singular conversation that passed between this prince and her; at the end of which, Madam de Montpensier, whose hatred for Henry was publicly known, taking notice of his entering Paris, she wished that it had been her brother the Duke of Maïenne who had let down the bridge for his Majesty. "Adzokers," replied the King, "he might possibly have made me wait a long time, and I should not have entered so early." This lady (pursued he) hearing the populace cry, *Long live the King*, said, laughing, that Brissac had done more than his wife, who, in fifteen years, had made but one cuckow sing; whereas he, in eight days, had made more than twenty thousand parrots sing in Paris. *L'Etoile, ann. 1594.*

gin by silencing all complaint, and owe the obedience which they receive to the tone of authority. He agreed with me that I should make him, in the presence of those two noblemen, the same detail I had just now done, as if it were for the first time ; and should give them to understand, that the conclusion of the treaty with Villars depended upon their sacrificing to him their rights. The thing being executed in this manner, the King, turning towards them, said, with some emotion, that he would rather lose Villars and Rouen both, than gain them by doing any injustice to two persons whom he esteemed. Montpensier and Biron were so affected with this manner of treating them, that they declared they would, with all their hearts, desist from their pretensions. Henry thanked them ; and, as an equivalent, gave the first the governments of Perche and Maine, to be joined to that of Normandy, as soon as it should be entirely reduced ; but Villars's generosity changed this disposition. As for Biron, a marechal's baton, with 420,000 livres in money, indemnified him for the loss which he sustained.

The reduction of Paris threw the King into new perplexities, which obliged him to delay still longer his journey to Rouen. He was employed in receiving the homage of the different courts *, of the university, and of the other corporations of the city of Paris ; whose submission he thought he could not better reward, than by applying his cares to the restoring them to that harmony and good order which the civil wars had interrupted. He had likewise answers to give to several governors of towns and fortresses, particularly of the isle of

* The parliament of Paris was recalled from Tours, where it had been removed by letters-patent from the King, dated March 28. 1594.

France, who, after the example of the capital, came to make their obeisance.

Villeroy was not amongst the first; it was necessity alone, that either fixed his irresolution, or forced his inclinations. Some places of little importance still held out for him and his son, with which, by means of Du-pleffis his friend, and Sancy, whose daughter was just married to his son, he made very advantageous conditions for himself: after obtaining, by repeated importunities, two truces, the one of two months space, the other for three months; which he procured to be ratified by the Duke of Maienne; after having a long time affected a neutrality, and put a thousand springs in motion to protract, till the last extremity, his separation from his old friends, he at last concluded a treaty * almost after all the rest, and obtained the

* This circumstance in our Memoirs is positively contradicted by De Thou, who says, book 108. that Villeroy's treaty with the King was concluded long before, but that his Majesty would not suffer it to be made public, because he was desirous that Villeroy should make use of his influence over the Duke of Maienne, to prevail upon him to join his party. Matthieu, in the places already quoted, is of the same opinion; and Cayet, who likewise supports it elsewhere, does not contradict it by Villeroy's letter to the Duke of Maienne, dated Jan. 2 in the same year; although, in relating the purport of this letter, he casts a kind of reproach upon this minister. In this letter, which was intercepted by the royalists, Villeroy, whose design was to inform the Duke of Maienne beforehand of his treaty with Henry, which was going to be published, and to endeavour once more to prevail upon him to follow his example, advises Maienne to consider in earnest of a peace for the party in general, and himself in particular, "Because," says he, "their cause is desperate;" and adds, "We have lost all confidence in each other," &c. Cayet, book 6. p. 293.

With the key that De Thou and other historians have given us to Villeroy's secret transactions with the chiefs of the league, and to the part he played by the King's order, the meaning of those words which they would impute to him as a crime, is easily comprehended, and it is even plain, that in speaking to the Duke of Maienne, he could not have expressed himself otherwise. Indeed, if on this occasion Villeroy could be charged with any fault, it was in not discovering a little

the post of secretary to the King, in recompense for that he had given up.

The day after the King's entry into Paris, he thought proper to make me set out for Rouen, since he could not go thither himself. I arrived at that city on the 25th of March, bringing with me Vitry, at the head of 300 men. La-Font received me at the gate of the city, and conducted me, with all my train, to the house that was prepared for me, which belonged to the Sieur de Martinbault, the finest in the whole town, and, by Villars's orders, furnished sumptuously. Simon Antoine and La-Chapelle did not approve of such a remarkable distinction. They knew nothing hitherto of the treaty, but had taken so much umbrage at my first journey, that they made use of all their credit to prevail upon the Admiral to forbid my entrance into the city.

La-Font, who acquainted me with all their intrigues, apprised me also, that they were that very night appointed to sup with the governor; as were likewise the Abbé Tiron, the president Boquemare, Medavy, and D'Aqueville, two counsellors of the

little more generosity when he had so good an opportunity for it; for, besides those rewards mentioned in our Memoirs, he procured the government of Lyons for Charles de Neufville, Marquis of Alincourt, his son. But what French noblemen in those times, or even what man however little distressed in his circumstances, could boast of being exempted from this reproach? Father de L'Etoile does not conceal the covetous and selfish disposition of Villeroy. "Henry IV." says he in his Journal, "going one day, with twelve or fifteen of his courtiers, to partake of a slight collation with Villeroy, said to them, 'when they were seated at table, My friends, we are at an ordinary, let us fare well for our money, for we have an host that will make us pay dear for our entertainment.'" I do not think it will be necessary for the future to obviate all those invectives which the Duke of Sully, in the sequel of these memoirs, throws upon a man who has been highly serviceable to this kingdom, till his death in 1617, having possessed the posts of minister and secretary of state under four successive kings, Charles IX. Henry III. Henry IV. and Lewis XIII.

parliament,

parliament, and some others. I was resolved to take this opportunity to declare myself; and La-Font having assured me, that the Admiral would not be displeased with any thing I did, I was willing to enjoy the confusion of the two deputies of Spain and of the league, by telling them what had just happened at Paris.

I went immediately to St Ouen, where Villars was with his company. He entertained the deputies at one end of the gallery when I entered. I did not scruple to interrupt their conversation, by running to embrace him; and told him I was just come to invite myself to sup with him, and to tell him my news. Villars, after returning my embrace, pointing to the two deputies, as if he acted in concert with me in this affair, told me coolly, that having so many people to sup with him that night, he was afraid I should not find the party well assorted. I replied, that I could accommodate myself to all companies, and I was persuaded (the animosity of party aside) those two gentlemen would receive the news I had to tell them with pleasure. The governor glancing a look at Simon Antoine, that deputy taking the thing like a man of gallantry, said, he would be charmed to know in what manner the King had treated the Spaniards and the two cardinals. This he accompanied with encomiums on this prince, and complements to me, with all imaginable politeness and good taste. "For ought I can see, you will oblige me to treat you all," said Villars, adding a compliment of excuse for his bad cheer.

The rest of the company approaching, the President Boquemare pressed me to declare my news; but I would say nothing till we were seated. Supper was called. "I am," said the Admiral, placing himself first at the middle of the table, "a very bad master of ceremonies." I did not mean
to

to use any with Don Simon, who having ambition, and being besides of a rank to support it, might have, upon a bare compliment, seated himself in the first place, a thing perhaps of some consequence, on an occasion, when I represented the King's person. I seated myself, therefore, without any ceremony, at the head of the table, telling the Spanish deputy, that if our own persons only were concerned, I would willingly pay him what I thought due to a stranger of merit: which he received with a very good grace. La Chapelle observed to him, that I did at the table what my master had just done at Paris, and that there was nothing in it but what was orderly. "I see," said the Spaniard, "and I am afraid this precedence is but a bad augury for us; however, it shall not hinder us from being merry, and drinking to the health of our masters, who are not enemies, since there is no war declared between them." This answer was full of wisdom and policy; and, during the whole repast, the Spaniard supported his part of the conversation like a man of spirit, and appeared sensible of the King's good qualities, above all, of the marks of clemency which he had given to all his enemies, whether foreigners or French. I took notice that Tiron only, and a priest named *Dadré*, were silent during this detail.

Thus the feast passed over with a good deal of joy, real or apparent, in all the guests. After it was over, Villars, as he attended me out, intreated me not to visit him all the next day, which he would employ in getting rid, one way or other, of his deputies. He knew not yet how these two men intended to take their leave of him, but told me, that if I wanted to be informed of it, I need only spend the afternoon with Madam de Simiers. Here I learned, that Villars had been closeted three whole hours with the two agents; that they had

made use of reproaches, and harsh language. But this governor was not a man to be easily intimidated or altered: he told them plainly, that he had concluded a treaty with the King, and that they had nothing for it, but to retire without delay, either to Soissons, or to the Duke of Maïenne, whither he would grant them a safe conduct, the only favour he could grant them. There was a necessity for coming to this extremity: and Villars took care to guard against the effect of their resentment, by giving orders for the newly-arrived troops to enter Rouen; with which he took possession of the palace, the fort, and the castle. This done, he sent La-Font to me, to tell me, that the next day, at my first request, he would declare himself for the King, in the presence of all the inhabitants of the city, whom he caused to be assembled for that purpose, with all the form and ceremony that might make this action more solemn.

I never experienced a more perfect satisfaction than what arose from the reflection of having done the King and kingdom so considerable a service; nor enjoyed a more tranquil sleep than that which the succeeding night afforded me. The next morning early I hastened to Villars, at St Ouen, whom I found walking in the great square, whither he had come an hour before, and which, as well as all the principal streets, was filled with such a prodigious concourse of people, drawn thither by the report of the deputies departure, and the new ceremony, that Perdriel, D'Isencourt, La-Font, and the soldiers whom the governor, out of respect, had sent to attend me, could with difficulty open me a passage: the joy was general, and easily remarkable in all their faces.

I accosted the Admiral, with whom I found the Baron de Medavy and the President Boquemare: and, after the ordinary salutation, I told him, that
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the King being now a good Catholic, it was time he should give him some testimonies of his zeal. Villars replied, that in his heart he was already faithfully devoted to his Majesty's service; and that if, to make an open profession of it, nothing more was necessary than to put on the white scarf, he was ready to receive it at my hand. I took one out of my pocket; and Villars had no sooner put it on, than, without further thought of what he was to say, "Come on," cried he, with a transport perfectly in his character, the league is, that every one cry *Vive le Roi*. The profound silence that had been held during our conference, was interrupted at this word by an universal acclamation of *Vive le Roi*. At the same instant, the ringing of the great bell, with all the others in the city; the discharge of all the artillery from the fort and other places; added to this general shout a noise capable of inspiring terror, if the joy which dilated every heart had permitted them to perceive, that there was not a house in the city that was unshaken. "The sound of these bells," said I to the governor, "suggests to us to go and give thanks to God in the church of Notre-Dame." Accordingly, *Te-Deum* was sung there with great solemnity, and followed by the celebration of the mass, at the beginning of which I retired. As soon as it was over, Villars took me up in his coach, and carried me to a magnificent entertainment, to which the sovereign courts, all the officers of the army, and magistrates of the city, were invited. Orders were sent to Verneuil, Pontau-de-mer, and Havre, where the Chevalier d'Oise commanded, and to all those places that acknowledged the Admiral's authority, to follow the example of the capital.

It was my first care, as soon as I was at leisure, to inform the King of what had just happened, and to intreat him to send some of his counsellors to re-

establish the parliament. The next day, the city came in a body to thank me for the trouble I had taken, and brought me their present, which consisted of a side-board of plate, gilt and finely wrought, of upwards of 3000 crowns value ; which I was obliged to accept, notwithstanding all my instances to the contrary. It was not long before my courier returned with dispatches from his Majesty : he brought a letter for Admiral Villars, in which the King styled him his *Cousin, Admiral, Governor in chief of Rouen, Havre, &c.* and invited him to come to court, in terms which promised him the most gracious reception : that which was for me, contained an order to return as soon as possible.

The Admiral, who would not appear there till he had an equipage suitable to his rank and dignity, took time to prepare himself. As for me, I set out forthwith, and lay the first night at Louviers, where I had with Bois-rosé, whom I did not know, the little scene I am going to represent.

This gentleman having learned, by public report, that the King had given Villars the fort of Fescamp, and heard no mention of an indemnification to himself, resolved to complain to the King ; and having occasion for the protection and countenance of some governor who was known to his Majesty, came to Louviers a few moments after my arrival, to get a letter of recommendation from Du-Rollet. He alighted at the same inn which I had chosen, and was told that a gentleman was just come, who, by his train, and the discourse of his domestics, appeared to be very well at court : my name they did not mention ; and Bois-rosé believing me to be still at Rouen, was at no pains to learn it. He did not hesitate a moment in preferring the protection of this Lord to that of Du-Rollet. He instantly came up to my chamber ; and, after making him-
self

self known, told me, that he had great reason to complain of a nobleman of the court, called *the Baron de Rosny*, who, abusing his master's favour, had sacrificed him, as well as the Duke de Montpensier, and Marechal Biron, to Admiral Villars his old friend. He afterwards explained his demands, but in a manner so lively and passionate, and with so many oaths and menaces against this Baron de Rosny, that nothing could be more pleasant than the character I supported upon this occasion.

When he had vented all his fire, I told him, that I was well enough acquainted with the affair he mentioned to me, to assure him, that the Baron de Rosny durst not have done any thing in it but by the King's express command; and that his Majesty actually purposed to give him a recompense where-with he would have reason to be contented. I did not think it necessary to carry my civility so far, as to promise him to serve his resentment against that Baron of whom he complained so bitterly; on the contrary, I told him, that if he knew the Baron de Rosny, he would confess, that a man who, for the good of the state, voluntarily resigned his abbey of St Taurin, could only be influenced by necessity to do what he attributed to ill-will. I took leave of him, saying, that I should be glad to see him when I arrived at court, where I promised to speak to the King concerning him, and to obtain the equivalent he demanded. Bois-rosé went away as much pleased with me as dissatisfied with the Baron de Rosny; but having inquired my name of one of my pages, whom he met at the bottom of the stair-case, he was thunder-struck to hear the name of a man whom he had talked of in such harsh terms to himself: so that being apprehensive of the resentment he supposed I entertained against him, he mounted his horse in an instant, went to another inn, and set out with all possible expedition for Paris, that

he might get thither before me, to find protection against the bad offices I was about to render him.

The adventure did not end here. While Bois-rosé took precautions against me as against an irreconcilable enemy, I, with more tranquillity, pursued my route by Mante, from whence I brought my wife to Paris. The first thing I did after my arrival, was to wait on the King, and give him an account of my journey, who, according to custom, would have me omit nothing. After having exhausted every thing that was serious, I was willing to divert him with the scene at Louviers; for Bois-rosé had taken no notice of that, and had only conjured his Majesty not to be prejudiced by what I might say against him, because of an inveterate hatred that I bore him. The King laughed heartily at the adventure of Bois-rosé. I sent for him; and he finding I was the person to whom he was referred, believed his affairs desperate: I enjoyed his uneasiness and perplexity for some time, and afterwards drew him out of it in a manner that surprised him greatly. I solicited warmly in his favour, and obtained for him a pension of 12,000 livres a year, a company with an appointment, and 2000 crowns in silver. He had not hoped for so much, but, his blustering apart, I looked upon him as an officer of great courage and resolution; and I afterwards bound him more closely to me, and thought him worthy of the post of lieutenant-general of the ordnance in Normandy, when the King had made me grand master of it.

I concealed nothing from the King of all that had happened to me at Rouen, except the present of the side board of gilt plate. He was astonished one morning to see it brought into his chamber. I told him, that, having in vain endeavoured to hinder the city of Rouen from making me this present, I came to bring it to his Majesty, as a thing
which

which belonged to him, since I had bound myself by a solemn vow, never to receive any thing from his subjects under this name, while I remained in his service.

And here it seems not improper to declare my reasons for this conduct, which I am persuaded will not be thought the best-concerted stratagem to gain greater riches : for although the rewards I received from the King were very considerable, and even surpassed my expectations, it will be readily allowed that a man, who, for so long a time, had almost the sole management of the finances and the army, was able to enrich himself by a much shorter method. It is not necessary that I should name it ; the past age has afforded but too many examples of it ; and, notwithstanding all my endeavours to introduce a contrary custom, the future, I doubt, will supply many more.

Interest, therefore, being out of the question, my resolution to avoid receiving any obligations may be placed to the score of vanity. Against this imputation I can offer only a simple assurance, but a very sincere one ; that I acted thus from no other motive, than the desire of teaching those who might succeed me in the conduct of affairs, that, in this respect, there is no difference between them and such as are set over the distribution of justice : for if a judge who opens his hand to presents, even without any intention of being influenced by them, is looked upon with abhorrence ; a minister, and any man invested with a public employment, renders himself equally guilty, who receives gifts with complacency, which, in the minds of those who give them, are in the very instant, or in the issue, to be at the expence of the King, or at least of his subjects. If we cannot depend on the rectitude of intention of those who make us these presents, (it is to my successors that I address myself here),
much

much less can we on our own who receive them : and let us accustom ourselves to regard as two things which can never be reconciled, our master's profit and our own ; unless, as I have observed before, it should be himself who bestows gifts on us ; and his liberality will always go far enough to leave us no cause to complain, after we convince him that nothing comes to us from any other source. But the misfortune is, being accustomed to calculate, and to see immense sums pass through our hands, we are led insensibly to consider as a small matter those that are sufficient for the happiness and for the fortune of one individual.

The King did not dissemble that he was not accustomed to such discourse ; and owned, that if this system, simple as it was, could be once established in the finances, it would be the means of enriching both the King and the state ; which, before and since, have been ardently sought for in vain. He would not have accepted the side board, but to accommodate himself to my way of thinking, by obliging me to take it from his hand. This donation became public, because he granted me a writing *, in which it was specified, that this side-board was a present made by the city of Rouen to

* Rosny's humour agreed perfectly well with the King's. When he trusted the finances to his care, he desired him not to take a bottle of wine, or receive any present whatever, without his knowledge ; and when Rosny informed him of any that were offered to him, the King immediately permitted him to accept of them, being so desirous that he should find his advantage in serving him faithfully, that he often added gifts of his own to those perquisites, to encourage him to serve him better and better. But Rosny never received them till they were duly registered in the chamber of accounts, that every one might know the bounty of this prince towards him ; by which means he would avoid the reproach of abusing his favour to empty his coffers. *Peref. p. 227.* This writer, as well as the rest of the world, were, through the Duke of Sully's modesty at that time, ignorant that he himself was the contriver of this wise and well-concerted œconomy.

his Majesty, who had bestowed it upon me ; and the next day this prince sent me 3000 crowns in gold from his own strong box, to make me sensible that such an action in a minister should not go unrewarded. I now fulfill his views, by informing the public of this double gratification.

Admiral Villars appeared soon after at court, with a train of more than an hundred gentlemen ; some of whom were of the greatest families in France ; but people soon drew off their attention from the magnificence of his horses, and the grandeur of his equipages, to fix it upon his generosity and upon his modesty, which are indeed the true riches of a man, although they rarely accompany the former. He accosted the King with an air at once noble and submissive, and threw himself at his feet. " Admiral," said the King, in pain at this posture, and raising him hastily, " such submission is due to God only ;" and resolving to elevate the Admiral as much as he had humbled himself, he began to expatiate to the courtiers upon the great actions which Villars had performed, and did it with a discernment so just as gave them new merit. The Admiral, by protestations of respect, and devotion to his service, endeavoured to stop the course of these praises ; and afterwards perceiving the Duke of Montpensier, he went up to him, and, kissing his hand, acknowledged him his superior, resigning to him his government of Rouen with so good a grace, that this prince, who had at first received him coldly enough, being affected with his generosity, embraced him several times, and from that moment received him into the number of his dearest friends.

The months of April and May were employed in the same manner by the King and his council, in receiving deputies from the different cities and governors, who came to treat upon the conditions of their surrender. Those of Lyons and Poitiers were
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the most considerable. A strange fall for the Duke of Nemours! This ambitious man suffered the chimerical project of making himself King of France, by marrying the Infanta of Spain, to employ his mind; which foolish pretension, the public hatred, and the opposition of his own brother, the Duke of Maïenne, obliging him to renounce, he soon consoled himself for this disappointment, by erecting, in idea, a principality composed of the provinces of Lyonnois, Beaujolois, Forêt, Maconnois, and Dombes, which he was to hold of Spain. He began by endeavouring to make sure of the capital of his new kingdom; but the Lyonnois*, more subtil than he, took care to secure the person of their pretended sovereign, who treated them already as a tyrant; and considering him in that light, kept him confined, without any intention, however, of breaking with the party. The league was offended at the affront offered to one of their leaders; and Saint Sorlin, the Duke of Nemours's youngest brother, interesting Spain in his quarrel, obtained from the Duke of Savoy, and the Duke of Terra Nova, governor of Milan, a powerful supply of forces, with which he fell upon the Lyonnois. This violence determined them to separate openly from the league; and calling in Colonel D'Ornano to their assistance, they declared openly for the King, pulled down and dragged the arms

* Perexife supposes the Duke of Maïenne himself to be the author of the revolt of Lyons, it being his design to snatch this city out of the hands of his half-brother. What the author says here of the Duke of Nemours, ought not to hinder us from doing him justice in other respects. He is allowed by all the historians to have possessed very great and amiable qualities, both of mind and person, and to have been one of the most deserving noblemen in all France. See his panegyric, and that of the Marquis de St Sorlin, his brother, in the Memoirs of Brantome, vol. 3. under the article of M. de Nemours, p. 23. *et seqq.*; and the account of the detail of Lyons, in Cayet, book 6. p. 299. and other historians.

and colours of Spain, Savoy, and Nemours, in the dirt, burnt, with a kind of insulting farce, in the public square, the effigies of a woman, in the habit of a sorceress, with this inscription on her forehead, THE LEAGUE ; and allowed only three months time to all the little towns dependent upon Lyons, to return to their duty.

The Duke of Nemours remained in great perplexity during this tumult ; and apprehending something worse than confinement from his pretended subjects, to effect his escape, put on the habit of his valet de chambre, who resembled him in his shape, and going out of his apartment with his close-stool pan in his hand, passed through the antichamber where the guards were, without being known, because he turned his face aside, as if to avoid the bad smell ; from thence he stole into the street, and gained the fields ; too happy, after so much imaginary grandeur, to abandon, like a fugitive, a city which he had destined for the seat of his glory ; and convinced, by sad experience, of a truth to which we always will make ourselves blind, that there is nothing so difficult as to make effects answer our desires.

Ambition, moreover, turned another head. Balagny seeing himself governor of Cambray, a place by its situation of great importance for the King, had the hardiness to demand his title of governor to be changed into that of sovereign prince, and the misfortune to obtain his request. Hence he flattered himself, that he should see his name swell the catalogue of crowned heads, and forgot that he wanted means to maintain himself in that elevated rank. He maintained it, or thought to maintain it, by exhausting his purse to appear with magnificence at court, and to send to the siege of Laon 2000 arquebusiers and 300 horse. But the glory of this upstart potentate was of short duration : he, as
well

well as Nemours, split upon the common rock so fatal to ambitious men, who can never be persuaded, that the best concerted schemes are those which afford only moderate advantages, but subjected to no changes, and secured from all hazards.

The Spaniards seeing, that, in the centre of the kingdom, every thing slipped through their hands, resolved to stem the torrent by some important blow, and laid siege to La-Chapelle. The King did not balance a moment upon the necessity of leaving all his domestic affairs, to go and prevent the reduction of this place. His soldiers, however, were not in the same disposition: Weary of war, they fought only to forget and to avoid it. So much time, therefore, was wasted, before the King could draw his army together, that although he marched before with a small body of troops, yet he came too late: he found the siege so far advanced, and the Count of Mansfeld who commanded it, so advantageously posted, that, weak as he was, he could not venture to force him. But the place being of great strength, he flattered himself that the governor would hold out long enough to give time to the rest of the troops to join him, and then he would be in a condition either to throw succours into the place, or force the besiegers to a battle. But this governor, following the maxim of those times, attentive only to his own profit in every thing, had been so beneficially sparing of provisions, ammunition, and soldiers, to man his garrison, that he was obliged to surrender much sooner than he needed to have done, and saw himself ruined by his avarice.

The King, by way of reprisal, invested Laon. He was not ignorant, that the league had put this place, already so strong by its situation and fortifications, into a condition sufficient to make whoever attacked it repent of his attempt. Du-Bourg

Bourg* was governor of it; one of the best and most experienced officers the Duke of Maïenne had in his army. The Duke's second son, the Count of Sommerive, with a great number of the nobility, was shut up there. The King, therefore, considering that, on this occasion, he had his military reputation to sustain, a reputation to which he owed all his success, neglected, on his part, no care or attention, to accomplish his enterprise.

I attended him joyfully to this siege, and was charged, according to my taste, with the direction of a battery of six pieces of cannon, conjointly with the elder De-Born, who, in quality of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, had the conduct of it in the absence of the Count de la Guiche grand master, and consented to take me for his colleague. Scarce had I taken possession of my new employment, when I was obliged to abandon it. The King was informed, by letters from Paris, that the Count d'Auvergne, with D'Entragues, his father-in-law, had begun those secret practices against him which afterwards had like to have lost him his head upon a scaffold; and that many disaffected and seditious persons daily resorted to Paris. A violent dispute had likewise just commenced between the university and curates of Paris on one side, and the Jesuits on the other; which, in a government yet hardly established, was very formidable.

This news convinced his Majesty, that there was a necessity for having a vigilant and faithful agent in that great city; yet he delayed mentioning the affair to me, because he knew well that I should not be pleased with a commission which would oblige me to leave the siege. However, a letter

* He was the same who chose rather to go out of the Bastile, of which he was governor, publicly with the black scarf, than to receive a bribe to put it into the King's hands. Cayet, vol. 2. p. 691.

which I received from the Cardinal of Bourbon, and which I could not avoid shewing him, determined him to propose it to me. The Cardinal, without entering into any detail, only expressed himself ardently desirous of seeing me, upon affairs of great importance, which he said I only could succeed in. Although all this had only the air of a compliment, yet his Majesty thought he ought not to neglect this advice: and had these affairs related only to the Cardinal, the King had so many motives for being solicitous about him, that when he had read this letter, he commanded me to prepare for returning to Paris; which I obeyed, but with great regret at quitting the siege. There was a necessity to fill up the employment I left vacant, with a man whose fidelity could be depended upon. I named to his Majesty Vignoles, Parabere, and Tigny, and he chose Parabere. I flattered myself, that when the affairs which called me to Paris were terminated, I should return to Laon; and I was resolved to use all possible expedition with them; but they were succeeded by others, and that so soon, that, from the end of May to the beginning of August, which was the time this siege lasted, all I could see of it was in these little excursions I sometimes made thither from Paris; therefore my account of it will be unconnected enough.

Having received the King's instructions for my journey, I set out, and reached Crêpy the first night, where I lay, and the next day arrived at Paris. I waited upon the Cardinal immediately, and found him very ill*, and as much depressed in mind as in body. He embraced me tenderly, and discovered infinite joy at seeing me; then ordering his

* The moment he perceived himself ill, he departed from Gaillon, and came to St Genievre, and afterwards to his fine house of the abbey of St Germain, according to De Thou, book 109.

chamber to be cleared, made me sit down by his bedside, that I might hear the thousand important things which he said he had to communicate. Those he began with gave me no great opinion of the rest; but they were such as sat nearest his heart, although they consisted only of domestic uneasinesses, and female quarrels, with which I am almost ashamed to entertain the public. A certain lady named *Madam de Rosieres*, was the cause of them. The Cardinal, either through jealousy or a disturbed imagination, had taken it into his head, that she hastened his death by magic, to be revenged on him for sowing dissension between her and the Abbé de Bellozanne, her favourite. His only consolation was, that if he did not die, his murderers would. My wife had informed him, that this *Madam de Rosieres* was dangerously ill; and probably it was upon this information that he had formed all his fable of magic and death.

He imparted all these secrets to me with such apparent dejection, that I did not doubt but that these imaginations contributed in a great measure to hasten his death. I endeavoured to inspirit him; and he at last was able to speak to me of his other affairs, which he had like to have forgot. Next to *Madam de Rosieres*, the King was the person of whom he complained with greatest bitterness; for his mind was in such a state, that he only complained of those whom he loved. He had asked the King's permission to dispose of his benefices; and his Majesty, he said, had not heard him favourably; which, he added, could only be occasioned by this prince's not having any regard for him, or that he was not sincerely attached to the Catholic religion; for how indeed could he be a good Roman Catholic, and disoblige a cardinal? Afterwards, without considering whom it was he was speaking to, he intreated me to defend the Romish religion to the

King, to confirm him in it, to prevail upon him to keep up a close correspondence with the Pope, to demand of St Peter his benediction, that he might afterwards obtain of him the dissolution of his marriage with Queen Margaret of Valois, and be at liberty to marry another princess, by whom he might have children who would secure the crown to the house of Bourbon, and peace and tranquillity to France. The end of this discourse was much more judicious than I had reason to expect: nor was the Pope's panegyric improperly introduced in it; for it must be confessed, that Clement VIII. was not only possessed of great wisdom and justice, but also so good a politician, that the court of Madrid could never boast of having deceived him by their disguises.

The Cardinal afterwards brought the affair of the Jesuits upon the carpet; and although, as a man devoted to the court of Rome, he openly favoured them, yet the arguments he made use of to prevail upon me to support them, were founded upon policy and the interest of the King, and so solid, that I was convinced his understanding was not impaired by sickness, but only upon the chapter of himself. All the steps I took in that affair were in consequence of his Eminence's prudent reflections on the danger of banishing the whole society from France in such a conjuncture; for, as we shall soon see, nothing less was in agitation.

A fourth affair, which he recommended to me, was, to support, against the superintendant, the old Archbishop of Glasgow in Ireland, whom he loved and honoured as if he had been a near relation. This archbishop bore the name of *Bethune* *. The Queen

* James de Bethune, Archbishop of Glasgow, in Scotland, and not in Ireland, came to Paris in quality of ambassador in ordinary from the Queen of Scotland, and died there in 1603, aged eighty-six

Queen of Scotland, his benefactress, being dead, all he now desired was, to spend the short remnant of his life in peace, far from his native country; but in the superintendant he found an enemy, to whose persecutions he was perpetually exposed, and who seemed resolved to drive him out of France. I never could discover the true cause of this hatred; perhaps it was owing to the attachment this prelate always shewed to the family of the Guises, from whom the Queen of Scotland * was descended. The Cardinal said, that D'O had no other motive than the interest which the Cardinal took in the Archbishop: and it is certain, that, as often as his Eminence solicited the superintendant in favour of the old prelate, he seemed to be more eagerly bent upon his destruction. The Cardinal, therefore, intreated me to prevail upon the King to take the Archbishop under his protection: he had promised to have no concern, for the future, in any affairs, either within or without the kingdom: indeed, he was no longer capable of it, and his conduct, moreover, irreproachable. To gain me en-

six years; having, during fifty-seven years, suffered great vicissitudes of fortune, since the murder of Cardinal de Bethune, Archbishop of St Andrew's, his uncle, which happened in 1546. His epitaph may be still seen in the church of St John of Lateran. Amelot de la Houffaye, in his Memoirs, mentions the process that Nicholas Denetz, Bishop of Orleans, had with Maximilian Francis Duke of Sully, in which, it appears, that they unjustly disputed the right this family had to the name of Bethune. "However this may be," said he, speaking of this archbishop, "the family of Betun in Scotland, from whence were descended the Cardinal Archbishop of St Andrew's, and the Archbishop of Glasgow, ambassador from Queen Mary Stuart in France, where he died in 1660 or 1661, (here is an error in the date), is acknowledged by Mess. de Sully and de Charost, for a branch of their house." *vol. 2. p. 63.* Therefore, according to our Memoirs, the true name both of the Archbishop of Glasgow, and of the Archbishop of St Andrew's, was *Bethune*, and not *Betun*.

* Mary of Lorraine, daughter of Claude Duke of Guise, married in 1530, to James Stuart King of Scotland.

tirely over to his interests, the Cardinal told me, that this archbishop had so great an affection for me, that he wept continually for my unhappiness, in being educated in the Protestant religion.

He resumed again the subject of his benefices, with which he concluded his discourse; and earnestly intreated me to obtain for him his Majesty's permission to resign them, confessing that the possession of these benefices had given dreadful uneasiness to the deceased Cardinal, his uncle, from whom he had them, as well as to himself, some of them having been forcibly taken from families who were the lawful proprietors of them; and his Eminence thought, he should make a sufficient atonement, both for himself and his uncle, and pacify his conscience, by restoring them to the injured persons after his death. He had nothing new to tell me, when his physician entered the chamber. Duret (for it was he) having recommended silence to his patient, took upon himself the care of acquainting me with all the secrets of the Cardinal, whose confidence he possessed; and he acquitted himself like a very eloquent man, that is to say, he wearied me sufficiently. I made no other answer to his tedious speeches, than reiterated promises of serving his Eminence.

During the three days which I passed at Paris, I was sufficiently convinced of the dangerous correspondences carried on by the Count d'Auvergne, D'Entragues, and his wife. Their house was the rendezvous for all the King's enemies, either in the league or the Spanish party: every night they held secret councils against the King's interest and service. Till I should have an opportunity of conferring with his Majesty upon the measures necessary for suppressing this wicked cabal, I represented to Mess. de Cheverney, de Pont-carré, de Bellevre, and de Maillé, that they could not watch too narrowly

rowly the motions of these incendiaries ; and I particularly recommended it to Maïeffe, with whose activity I was well acquainted.

I afterwards applied myself, with a particular attention, to the affair of the Jesuits, against whom a process was actually commenced before the parliament, and vigorously pursued by the university and curates of Paris, who accused them with having monopolized to themselves the education of the youth *, and the direction of consciences ; represented them as a society very pernicious to the state ; and proposed their being banished as such from all the dominions of France. It was nothing less than certain, that all these adversaries of the society would triumph over them, as they had promised themselves, even if the King should not interpose his authority. The Jesuits had acted powerfully upon this occasion. The party was already so well supported, that, without laying any stress upon the Pope, Spain, and their partisans in the league †, who were not few, one half of the parliament was on their side, and openly solicited in their favour. The cause was put into the hands of advocates in the highest repute at the bar : the Jesuits retained Duret and Verforis ; and their adversaries Arnaud and Dollé ‡. In Paris nothing was talked of but these two powerful factions.

I reflected upon what the Cardinal de Bourbon had represented to me, That there was no extremity to which this order would not proceed, stimulated either by revenge, or by the hope of forcing us to repeal their banishment : That, by their

* See Richel. polit. test. part 1. ch. 2. § 10.

† The Cardinal of Bourbon, the Superintendent D'O, Antony Seguire, King's Advocate, and a great many others, openly solicited for the Jesuits.

‡ See the particulars of this process, De Thou, book 110. ; Hist. of the university of Paris, vol. 6. p. 866. ; and others.

intrigues, they might animate part of Europe against us : That they well know how to make their persecution be looked upon as an injury offered to religion itself, and bring the King under a suspicion of being secretly attached to that which he had just quitted ; which, in the present state of affairs, might have very dangerous consequences, Clement VIII. not having yet been able to resolve upon granting the absolution solicited for at Rome ; the King being engaged in one of those enterprises, the event of which is always so uncertain, and often so dangerous ; and, in a word, the Catholics who had most power in the kingdom, as well those who were at Paris, as those that filled the court, fearing, or seeming to fear, for their own interest, that they had not yet sufficiently provided for the security of the Romish religion in France. I was sensible, that Mess. de Longueville, Nevers, and Biron, had publicly expressed themselves to this purpose, and had used all their endeavours to communicate their apprehensions to the Cardinal of Bourbon, by means of D'Entragues, D'Humiers, Des Sourdis, and some others. It is not my design to impute here any bad intention to these persons ; but it is certain, that, amongst these zealous Catholics, there were few who were not actuated by a motive like that of Biron, who did not disseminate these discourses till he had lost all hope of obtaining the government of Laon.

Be this as it will, prudence, I thought, required, that the authority of the absent King should not be exposed for a quarrel between priests and theologists ; and did not doubt but his Majesty, in such a case, would chuse the most moderate side. I therefore declared to the council, that the King did not think the accusations which were brought against the Jesuits. of sufficient importance to authorise any harsh treatment of them ; and that his Majesty

jeſty would wait to be determined by their future behaviour to the ſtate and himſelf, whether he ſhould baniſh them, or permit them to continue in France : and that, till he had given more poſitive orders concerning them, he abſolutely forbid any violent proceedings againſt thoſe fathers ; that no invectives ſhould be permitted in the pleadings againſt them ; and even that their cauſe ſhould be tried in full court. No perſon expected to find in me a protector of the Jeſuits ; and I may ſay, that my recommendation of them at that time would not have been uſeleſs, although I had not ſpoken in the name of the King. In effect, no farther progreſs was made in this affair.

The deference I owed to the Cardinal of Bourbon made me reſolve to ſpeak to the ſuperintendant in favour of the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow ; though I knew well, what I had to expect from a man ſo little ſolicitous to conceal the hatred he bore to my whole family, and which a late quarrel with my youngeſt brother had augmented, I hoped from the King more juſtice, and I haſtened to join him at Laon, after taking leave of the Cardinal, who continued ſtill conſiderably weakened.

At Bruyeres, where I had left my field-equipage, I learned, that the Duke of Maïenne, being in conſtant expectation of a great army, which Count Charles of Mansfeld was to bring him, had advanced with ſome troops as far as La-Fere, and twice attempted to throw a ſupply of 100 horſe and 200 arquebuſiers into Laon ; that the firſt was defeated by Givry, and the ſecond by the Count of Soiſſons, whoſe turn it was that day to guard the trench : that the King gave always a glorious example to the princes and officers, and mounted guard in the trenches in his turn.

His Majeſty was in bed when I arrived at his quarters, although it was three o'clock in the afternoon.

ternoon. He asked me, if I was not surpris'd to find him in bed at such an hour. This bed, however, was only two matresses upon the hard ground. All night, and the preceding day, this prince had been standing at the trench, where he was employed in directing works to be made in the mountain, upon the declivity of which Laon is situated, either to change the place of some batteries, or to shelter the workmen by parapets. He was so greatly fatigued standing upon the ground, which was extremely rugged, that several contusions rose in his feet, which did not, however, hinder him from staying to see the work carried on, till all these contusions bursting, each of his feet became one large wound, which oblig'd him to be put to bed, and some dressings to be applied to them; which he order'd to be changed in my presence; "That you
" may be convinced," said he, "I do not act the
" sick man unseasonably." I was very far, indeed, from entertaining such a thought; and if I accus'd him of any thing, it was of the contrary excess. I believe he perceiv'd it: for seeking, as it were, to justify himself, he told me, that he was under a necessity of undertaking and superintending this work, which would give him two days advance upon the besieged city; and that I would not condemn him after I had seen it, or, at least, heard an account of it from the connoisseurs whom he had sent to visit it, and whose return he expected at five o'clock.

I took advantage of this opportunity of being alone with the King to give him an account of my journey, which I did, kneeling on a cushion which he order'd to be brought for me. His Majesty, desirous of authorising what I had done, order'd Beau-lieu-Rusé to write three letters instantly; the first, which was address'd to the Chancellor, regard'd the Jesuits, and contain'd only a repetition of what I had said myself. In the second, he inform'd D'O,
that

that it was his intention the Archbishop of Glasgow should enjoy the only two abbeys he had in France peaceably, and justified this prelate's past conduct, by the gratitude he owed his benefactress. The third, to the Cardinal of Bourbon, was written in the name of Loménie, secretary of state, who made known to his Eminence, that the King would approve of the disposition he should make of his benefices, and was ready to ratify it, by signing himself the form he should send him, provided he found in it nothing contrary to the canons, the liberties, and customs of the kingdom. The rest of the letter was an assurance of his protection and friendship; and as a proof of his confidence, he sent the two other letters under cover to him; and had the complaisance to acquaint him with the contents. I desired Du-Perat, whom the King sent with these three letters to Paris, to deliver one from me to the Cardinal, in which I exhorted him, by every thing that I thought could make any impression upon his mind, to free himself from all his domestic uneasinesses.

These affairs were but just over before the arrival of Mess. de Biron, Givry, Saint-Luc, Marivault, Parabere, Vignoles, Fouquieroles, and others, whom the King had sent to examine his works of the preceding day, particularly two mines which he had caused to be opened. Every one gave his opinion of them, to shew his own skill: they could not agree, and a dispute insensibly arose amongst them. Marechal Biron, who sullied the great talents he had for war, by an assuming air, and a superiority of accent, which made him always master of the conversation, could with difficulty bear to hear any one declare himself of an opinion contrary to his.

The King, perceiving that words grew high amongst them, in order to oblige them to silence, told them he had received notice from three successive

cessive spies, from different places, that the Duke of Maïenne and the Count of Mansfeld had resolved, at all hazards, to throw a very considerable convoy of ammunition and provisions into Laon, in order to avoid a battle; and that this convoy was to set out instantly upon its march, supported by a very powerful escort, with a design to surprise the guard, force themselves a passage, and enter into the besieged city. This afforded a new subject for contestation, which ended at last in Biron's favour, who procured the command of a strong detachment, with which he intended to post himself in the forest between Laon and La-Fere, and to attack the escort with the convoy. He composed the detachment himself, which consisted of 1200 French infantry, all chosen men, 800 Swiss, 300 light horse, 200 troopers, and 100 gentlemen of the King's household. I asked the King's permission to go along with this detachment; which he refused me several times, alledging, that there were many things which he wanted me to inform him of; but I made so strong instances, that the third time I prevailed.

We began our march at six o'clock in the afternoon, and reached the forest at one in the morning, where we advanced cautiously to the extremity of the wood near La-Fere, which was the place of our ambuscade. Marechal de Biron detained all the passengers we met on the great road, who, he thought, might carry intelligence of his design into La-Fere; and placed centinels on horseback at the end of the wood, to bring him an exact information of whatever came out of the city. We waited with great impatience till four o'clock in the afternoon, before we heard any news; and then the centinels came to inform us, that the great road from La-Fere to Laon was covered with so long a file of soldiers, and such a vast quantity of baggage

gage of every kind, that they could imagine nothing else but that the whole army of the enemy was advancing. That instant I perceived a good number of the most resolute amongst us to look pale, and whisper to each other, that it was necessary to make our retreat. This some of us opposed; and the commander declaring himself for this last opinion, it was agreed upon, by a plurality of voices, that some one of the troop should be sent to reconnoitre, and bring back an exact state of things. Fouqueroles, whose valour and intrepidity was well known, was chosen, with two or three others, for this employment; and returning a little time after, informed us, that this seemingly formidable line was composed of three hundred carts, laden with ammunition, escorted by four squadrons of 100 hundred horse each, who marched before the convoy, followed by 8 or 900 musketeers; an equal number of Spanish infantry brought up the rear.

This number not being equal to ours, it was agreed upon, with one voice, that we should attack them; and we only differed upon the manner of doing it. I, with many others, were of opinion, that it would be better to let the convoy enter the forest, and afterwards fall upon them in the rear. Givry, Montigny, and Marivault, who were at the head of the cavalry, were for the negative, and maintained so positively, that there was less danger in attacking them in the open field, that they drew Marechal Biron into this opinion. At first this method succeeded: the cavalry of the enemy gave way as soon as they were attacked, though at the beginning they shewed great resolution, and retired to the sides of the waggons: but we soon found whom we had to deal with; the enemy's infantry, which were in front, waited firmly for our troopers, whom Biron sent to attack

them, and fixed upon them with so much order, as obliged them to give ground. Biron commanded them to return to the charge by the left flank, while he attacked the right, which was visibly the least dangerous. The onset was so terrible, that the enemy's foot were forced to retire, and, like the other squadrons, take shelter in the midst of the carts, from whence they still continued to defend themselves: in the mean time, the Spanish battalion advanced from the rear to the front, and formed itself in such a manner, that it was supported on all sides by the cavalry and the wag-gons, without losing the assistance of the first battalion: they made so vigorous a defence, that all Biron's entreaties and menaces could not hinder our 600 horse from quitting the fight, extremely weakened. The Swiss and French infantry, who took their place, found equal resistance. The battle continuing to lengthen, Biron apprehended that an action which passed so near La-Fere, would give time for a considerable supply to be sent to the convoy, if it was not very speedily ended, for a last resource, commanded the 100 gentlemen to dismount, to add to their other arms, which consisted of a sword and pistol, a pike, of which we had brought a great quantity along with us; and to bring up to the charge all our foot, both French and Swiss, which had not yet encountered the Spaniards. Mess. de Guitry, de Montigny, de Marivault, de Trigny, d'Arambure, de la Curée, de Lopes, d'Heures, and others, advanced in this manner at the head of 300 foot; and Biron, with an equal number, followed them. I was in the second battalion. We closed so closely, that the pike and fusée became useless. We fought hand to hand, and almost wrestled with one another. The Spaniards at length gave ground, and, after
throwing

throwing away their arms *, fled for shelter to the woods and waggons. This last refuge was of no service to them; we pursued them there, and made a horrible carnage of them: no less than 1200 were left dead upon the place. There were few prisoners; the persons of any distinction in the cavalry had time to get back to La-Fere. We neither pursued them, nor the others who had taken shelter in the woods, lest we should be surprised, and put into disorder, by new troops sent from La-Fere to their assistance: on the contrary, we only thought of rallying, and keeping upon our guard, during the time that was necessary to rest and refresh ourselves with some of those provisions of which we found great abundance in the convoy. In the night we marched back to the camp, and brought thither, without meeting with any obstacle, all the enemy's baggage, but so pillaged by the soldiers, and so carelessly looked after, notwithstanding the commander's strict orders concerning it, that above 400 war or baggage horses were lamed.

Biron, with the same supercilious air which he had assumed, to procure the command in this expedition, presented himself to his Majesty at his return, to receive the praises due to his success. Having so fine a matter to talk of himself, one may easily imagine what a man, who knew not the merit of silence upon these occasions, would say to the advantage of his victory. One would have said, to have heard him, that he had just that moment returned from settling the crown upon his Majesty's head. Experience has shewn, that this haughtiness, which borders a little upon boasting, of itself sufficiently in the French taste, commonly succeeds with a general who has Frenchmen to

* La-Curée, who was a good judge in this matter, attributes the Spaniards' defeat to their custom of using too long swords, and waistbelts too short. *Vol. 3929. MSS. de la bibliot. du Roi.*

conduct: with them to seem sure of a victory, goes a great way towards gaining it. The King was not ignorant of this, and he had found very happy consequences from it, on those hazardous occasions, when the soldiers fought only in the countenance and words of their leader, the idea they ought to have of the present danger. Hence a seeming confidence of success became habitual to him, and this air was imitated by all the general officers; and, as it often happens, many of them, but particularly Marechal Biron, overacted it so far as to become insupportable to all the others, and even to the King himself, who was by no means the least indulgent.

The obliging reception which his Majesty gave to Biron, and those that had followed him, created great jealousy in the courtiers, who had not been of the party, and completely turned Biron's head. However, he could not obtain the government of Laon, which was what he aimed at by exalting his last action, and arrogating all the glory of it to himself alone, as if others came in for nothing. The King disclosed his thought of it fully to me, and seemed, on many accounts, greatly discontented with this Marechal. His Majesty told me, that, after so many causes of complaint which Biron had given him, after his having dared even lately to threaten him with going over to his enemies, and the discoveries he had just made of the actual correspondence he carried on with Mess. d'Epemon and d'Avergne, he could not resolve to trust him with the care of a place so near the Low Countries as Laon, which ought not to be given but to a man of approved fidelity *: but he feared, he said, that Biron would keep no measures after this refusal, and would openly join the party against him, or, what was still more dangerous, continue near his per-

* This government was given to Marivaux.

son, while he secretly sided with his enemies. Henry, who from this moment was persuaded, that he would one day have every thing to fear from Biron, added, that he had perceived this Marechal sought my friendship for some time, doubtless with an intention to procure my concurrence to a marriage between his brother and Mademoiselle de Saint Geniès, my niece, who was one of the greatest fortunes in France ; and he ordered me to take advantage of this new friendship, to sound him, and to penetrate into his designs.

The great convoy being defeated, the King, without any obstacle, continued the siege of Laon, till he received notice that the Duke of Maïenne, and the Count of Mansfield, far from being disheartened by this bad success, talked of nothing less than coming to force the lines of the besiegers, as soon as they had received some troops they were in expectation of. The Marechal de Biron treated this news with raillery ; but his Majesty, who neglected nothing, was not easy about it till Givry, whom he had sent to reconnoitre, escorted by 300 horse, with strict orders not to return without a perfect knowledge of the situation and forces of the enemy, brought him, at the end of three days, certain intelligence, that there was not a single company of them on this side the Oise ; and that the Spaniards were more inclined to return to Flanders than to Laon. The King, relying upon the fidelity of this report, that very evening made a party to go and dine the next day at St Lambert, a house dependent upon the domain of Navarre, and situated in the midst of the forest, where he remembered to have often gone to eat fruit, milk, and new cheese, during the time that, in his youth, he had resided in the castle of Marle ; and he promised himself great pleasure in seeing it again.

About thirty of us attended him to St Lam-

bert, where, as he had passed part of the preceding night in visiting, as usual, the trenches batteries, and mines, he fell asleep as soon as he had dined : his good constitution, joined to a habit of fatigue, had accustomed him to sleep in any place, and when he pleased, and to wake at any hour. The weather being then extremely hot, eight or ten of us went into the thickest part of the forest *, not far from the great road leading from La-Fere to Laon. We had not gone farther than twelve or fifteen hundred paces, when a noise which came from that side near La-Fere drew all our attention ; it seemed to be a confused mixture of human voices, smacking of whips, neighing of horses, and a noise like the distant sound of trumpets and drums. That we might hear more plainly, we came forwards to the road, from whence we perceived distinctly eight hundred paces before us, a column of infantry, which appeared to us to be foreigners, marching in good order, and without noise : that which we had heard proceeded from the servants and vagabonds who followed, and those that conducted a considerable convoy of artillery which escorted it. Extending our view as far as it was possible, so great a number of troops appeared to us to file off after these waggons, that we did not doubt but that it was the enemy's whole army.

We returned hastily, and found the King awake, shaking a plum-tree, the fruit of which had appeared very delicious. " Faith, Sire," said we to him, " we have just seen some people pass, who prepare very different plums for you, and of a little harder digestion." The explication did not consist of many words, the time was pressing ; and the King the more readily believed us, having, as he told us, heard something for a quarter of an hour, which

* The forest of Folambry.

(not being able to imagine that Givry could have acquitted himself so ill of his commission) he thought was a noise proceeding from his own camp. His Majesty ordered twelve of us, who were ready at hand, to go instantly to the different quarters of the cavalry, (a list of which he always carried in his pocket), to spread the alarm there, and bring them all with the utmost expedition to his quarter, while a part of us should go to the infantry, to form them into battalions, and post them between the same quarter and the trenches. He gave these orders as he was mounting his horse, and although he rode at full speed, he continued giving them to all he met, with the same justness and extent of thought, as if he had been long before prepared for a battle. Thanks to so much celerity, and that admirable presence of mind, which was the cause that nothing escaped this prince, here, where any other, instead of forming a regular plan, would scarcely have been capable of taking the least sensible resolution. The enemy did not surprise a single man; which perhaps saved the whole army from the utmost misfortune: for it must be confessed, that if the enemy's cavalry, which at the same instant appeared in the front of the camp, where they formed themselves into squadrons with great expedition, had once thrown the soldiers into a consternation, which, the King and part of the officers being absent, must almost infallibly have happened by an effect of the first surprise; it would have been easy for them, amidst that sudden confusion, to have defeated one or more quarters, and perhaps fear might have delivered up all the rest.

We may hold by this single example, to prove of what utility it is for a general of an army, I will not say only to possess that quality of mind which takes in all cares, however infinite; but to know by their names,

names, their capacity, their good and bad qualities, the officers, and the different bodies of his army; and in his turn to be known by it, for the man of all the general officers, whose advice (the quality of leader apart) they would chuse in a difficult conjuncture to follow as the wisest, to give it with firmness, but without the ostentation which seems to arise from the certainty of having found out the best; to inspire them with a relish for their occupation; to render their discipline pleasing, by never oppressing them with orders, but, at the same time, to accustom them never to expect, that those already established will, on any account whatever, be dispensed with, or diminished; in a word, to possess the art of making himself be at all times readily obeyed by them, without inspiring that timidity which keeps them silent, when, by a seasonable hint, they might aid the lights of their leader; an inconvenience which in all times has been the ruin of many armies, and their commanders.

Notwithstanding the expedition the King used on this occasion, if the enemy's general had known how to avail himself of every moment, I believe he might have given us a considerable shock; but knowing the prince he had to deal with, he durst not suffer the van of his army to appear, till the whole was come out of the forest, that one part might not be deprived of the assistance of the other, in case the King should be informed of his march, and meet him with all his army. It happened also, that the march of the enemy was protracted by the breaking of a carriage, upon which a piece of ordnance was placed, which imbarassed them greatly. The waggons split in pieces when the convoy was defeated, the luggage of which, with the bodies of men and horses, overspread the road, caused a second imbarassment still greater: and, lastly, the
person

person whom the Duke of Maienne had sent to reconnoitre a place proper for pitching his camp, did not make all the dispatch which he might have made.

The King carefully availed himself of all these delays. He drew out from the trenches as many men as were sufficient to cover them, without leaving too few within, and ranged the rest of his army in order of battle before, when the enemy, who no longer hoped to surprize him, gave him time. That day was employed on each side, in gaining all advantages for a battle. It was not however the intention of the two generals of the enemy to risk it; they dreaded the King's ascendant, and our cavalry which was almost all composed of gentlemen. Their whole design, by this motion, was to engage the King to raise the siege of Laon, by coming to meet them, and afterwards to evade a battle, or throw, at least, in the confusion caused by their arrival, 3000 foot and 300 troopers into the place: but as we did not know their intention till afterwards, that we were informed of it by some prisoners whom we took, it was not doubted but that there would be a general action upon the morrow; our two camps being so near that we heard distinctly from ours, the sound of their trumpets, and the shouts of their soldiers.

In the midst of the ground that separated us from the enemy, there was one single hill almost round, which appeared to me of extreme importance to the besieged city, if the enemy should possess themselves of it. The King, who had sent me to reconnoitre it, gave me two pieces of cannon, to support a regiment that were by his order to post and fortify themselves there. I caused a hut to be erected for myself; and when the King came to visit this post, he found every thing in order. The next day the enemy making a shew of greater resolution

than

than the evening before, began a skirmish with all their small shot, and endeavoured to make themselves masters of a little wood which was between the two camps. Above fifty thousand fires of small arms were given, but with so little effect, that Parabere, who came to my hut to sup with me, assured me that they had not twenty men slain, nor more than twice that number wounded.

Night coming on during this tumult; and the two generals of the enemy's army, who thought of nothing less than engaging further, took advantage of it to retreat, without noise, to La-Fere. The King suffered them to fly, not to lose sight of his object; and he contented himself with the disgrace and the ridicule they had drawn upon themselves by making so much ado about nothing.

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